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ABSTRACT

This publication presents seven articles concerned with the education of students with disabilities or special talents who also have cultural or linguistic differences. Section 1 contains the following four articles: (1) "Code Switching: A Bridge or Barrier between Two Languages?" (Alejandro Brice and Linda I. Rosa-Lugo); (2) "Resistance Theories: Exploring the Politics of Oppositional Behavior" (Scot Danforth); (3) "No Easy Walk: African-American Educators Coping with Their Own Children with Special Needs" (Martha S. Lue and Cheryl E. Green); and (4) "Challenges and Choices in Urban Teaching: The Perspectives of General and Special Educators" (Deborah L. Voltz). The second section, "In the Oral Tradition" presents interviews with two Latina educational leaders, Alba Ortiz and Elba Maldonado-Colon. The interview is reported by Helen Bessent Byrd in "Effective Provision of Educational Services to Latino-American Children with Special Needs and Gifts." The third section provides two articles by young practitioners and researchers: "The Education of Exceptional Learners: Perspectives of Multicultural College Seniors" (Crystal B. Taylor and others) and "Juvenile Delinquency among African-American Males: Implications for Special Education." (Individual articles contain references.) (DB)

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1

A PUBLICATION OF THE DIVISION FOR CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE EXCEPTIONAL LEARNERS

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MULTIPLE VOICES

FOR ETHNICALLY DIVERSE EXCEPTIONAL LEARNERS

2000

BRIDGIE ALEXIS FORD
EDITOR

A PUBLICATION OF THE
DIVISION FOR CULTURALLY AND
LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE
EXCEPTIONAL LEARNERS
3

ISBN: 0-86586-368-7

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PREVIEW

BRIDGIE ALEXIS FORD
Editor, *Multiple Voices*

This issue of *Multiple Voices* is the first of the new millennium. In recognition of the importance of ongoing professional involvement, publication, and/or research by the future cadre of practitioners and researchers who are from culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) backgrounds, this issue of *Multiple Voices* contains a special section entitled, "Voices of Future Practitioners and Researchers." Consideration of the demographics of those who teach (and/or conduct research) is as important as the study of the demographics of those who learn (Ford & Bessent Byrd, in press). In a study that addressed the ethnic demographics of special education teachers, Wald (1996) noted the diminished supply of teachers from CLD groups (with 86% of the teachers being White, 10% Black, 2% Hispanic, and 2% Other).

It was predicted that the number of ethnic minority teachers would drop to approximately 5% by the year 2000 (Grossman, 1998). The incommensurate numbers of ethnic minority special education teachers in U.S. schools necessitate a revisiting of recruitment, retention, and graduation issues as well as certification/licensure issues (Ford & Bessent Byrd, in press). To this end, systemic mentoring of both preservice- and graduate-level students and practicing special education teachers who are from CLD backgrounds becomes imperative. The Editor and Associate Editors of *Multiple Voices* welcomed the opportunity to highlight and assist the future educators/researchers cited in this issue. Ironically, the significant shortage of ethnic minority teachers is occurring at the same time that our nation's public schools are witnessing a large increase in the percentage of youth who are from CLD backgrounds.

It is becoming increasingly apparent, as predicted a few years ago, that more than one third of the students in U.S. public schools may be from CLD backgrounds. The three fastest growing groups are Hispanic/Latino Americans, African Americans, and Asian/Pacific Islander Americans. Although the projected shortage of minority teachers will be a tremendous loss to all students, the loss will be particularly detrimental for ethnic minority students, who will lose out on many opportunities to have school personnel from their culture as role models and mentors. Also, an issue that is often neglected is the importance of White students having the experience of being educated by ethnic minority teachers (Smith-Davis, 1995). If a goal of education is to adequately prepare youth to function in our culturally pluralistic society, then all students are better prepared for life when they are systematically exposed to cultural diversity in the school, which is society's primary formal learning environment.

Concurrent with the Division for Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Exceptional Learners' (DDEL) mission, *Multiple Voices,* its refereed publication, publishes articles that focus on new paradigms, research, policies, and daily school practices which tend to reduce or perpetuate

inequities in educational opportunities for CLD individuals with disabilities and/or gifts and talents. This issue of *Multiple Voices* is divided into three sections. The first contains four articles that address the following issues: language code switching, the politics of oppositional behaviors, African-American educators coping with the needs of their own children who have disabilities, and the challenges and choices faced by urban educators. The second section is "In the Oral Tradition." This section presents interviews of two Latina leaders and professionals regarding critical educational issues confronting Latino-American students. This interview is the last in the series of "In the Oral Tradition" using the present format. Future *Multiple Voices* publications will use a variety of formats (e.g., "Theory into Practice"). The "Voices of Future Practitioners and Researchers" comprise the third section. Two articles are included: "The Education of Exceptional Learners: Perspectives of Multicultural College Seniors" and "Juvenile Delinquency Among African American Males: Implications for Special Education."

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On behalf of DDEL, I congratulate the authors of the articles in this issue of *Multiple Voices* and invite submission of manuscripts for forthcoming issues. My special thanks go to the Associate Editors (Artiles, Garcia, Obiakor, & Trent) who unselfishly *mentored* the future educators/researchers and other authors in the reconceptualizations and revisions of their manuscripts. I thank them and the entire Editorial Board members and Guest Reviewers for their continuous commitment to quality and their willingness to provide detailed, constructive critiques of manuscripts. Together, we are making a difference!

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Multiple Voices Manuscript Guidelines

Manuscripts may focus on one or more areas: effective classroom or postsecondary practices, assessment, family or community empowerment techniques, research, material or test reviews, recruitment, and other issues pertaining to culturally and linguistically diverse exceptional populations.

Manuscripts should be on 8½ x 11 paper and must conform to APA style (4th ed.) and not exceed 20 pages.

Authors should submit four copies of their manuscript to the editor. One copy of the manuscript must include a title page that contains the manuscript's title, each author's name and professional title, telephone numbers, fax numbers, and institutional affiliation. E-mail addresses should be included if possible. In order to facilitate a blind review, the first page of the manuscript's text for three of the four copies should include only the manuscript's title (no author names).

Receipt of manuscript will be acknowledged and manuscript will undergo a blind peer review.

Only manuscripts not previously published and not being considered for publication may be submitted.

DDEL's policy on the use of copyrighted material is quite strict. Please obtain official permission from appropriate sources and include it along with the submitted manuscript.

All manuscripts should include a three-line biographical sketch of each author.

If accepted for publication, authors will submit two hard copies and one disk copy to the editor.

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Classroom teachers and other practitioners are especially encouraged to submit work about proven practices for students with disabilities and/or those with gifts and talents.

CODE SWITCHING: A BRIDGE OR BARRIER BETWEEN TWO LANGUAGES?

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ABSTRACT

Communication in English can be a barrier for second language learners since English serves both as a content subject and also as the means of instruction in classrooms. The issue is compounded when speech-language pathologists (SLPs) provide services to students from culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) homes who may be suspected of a communicative disorder. As a result, large numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse children with disabilities and their families are underserved, overserved, or misdiagnosed. Exposing a recent study of one classroom in one school located in southwestern Minnesota, this article performs a dual service of providing information on code switching used by culturally and linguistically diverse students, and information on the usefulness of this in the planning and management of communication problems with this population in academic settings.

School based speech-language pathologists (SLPs) repeatedly face the challenge of how to provide appropriate services for students who are learning English as a second language (ESL; Gersten & Woodward, 1994; Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls, 1986). The issue is compounded when SLPs must provide services to students from culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) homes who may be suspected of a communicative disorder (Beaumont & Langdon, 1992). As a result, large numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse children with disabilities and their families are underserved or inappropriately served by professionals who may not be prepared for the task. Additionally, many children may be overserved because they may have been misdiagnosed (Hamayan & Damico, 1991). This challenge is of critical concern to the profession and warrants discussion and practical solutions (Quinn, 1995).

Communication in English can be a barrier for many second language learners since English serves both as a content subject and also as the means of instruction in classrooms. A strategy used by second language learners has been to employ the alternation of two languages (e.g., code switching) as a bridge between the two languages they are learning (Faltis, 1989). According to Aguirre (1988), language alternations or code switching in the classroom are obvious and unavoidable with culturally and linguistically diverse children, and school based SLPs should regard language alternations as a communicative strategy employed by students learning a second language. Unfortunately, a true understanding of language alternation behaviors is a phenomenon still not well understood by professionals in speech-language pathology (Cheng & Butler, 1989; Reyes, 1995). SLPs have unfortunately viewed language alternations to be an indicator for language proficiency and typically have voiced the opinion that its presence is a symptom of a language disorder (Cheng & Butler; Reyes).

Most studies on code switching have tried to determine syntactically where code switching occurs (Poplack, 1980; Poplack & Sankoff, 1980; Woolford, 1983). This has led to a distinction

between two kinds of switches, intersentential (code switching) and intrasentential (code mixing) alternations. Hence, intersentential code switching occurs when the switch is produced across sentence boundaries. In an example of code switching a teacher may say,

> "Ya, se acabo. *Sientate. The time is up.*" ["It's finished, Sit down. The time is up"].

The transition from the command of *"Sientate"* to the informative sentence of "The time is up" constitutes an intersentential (across sentences), code switched language alternation. Intrasentential language alternation occurs when the switch is produced within a sentence. Language alternation within a sentence is also known as code mixing (Grosjean, 1982; Torres, 1989). Thus, embedded words, phrases, and sentences from two languages are found within a sentence. For example, a teacher may incorporate words or phrases into her or his English. She or he may say,

> "What language is *'mille lac'* [one thousand lakes]? Do you know what that means? What does *'mille'* [French word for one thousand] mean? 'Mille' [thousand] means *'mil'* [Spanish word for one thousand]. *'Lac'* [French word for lake] means *'lago'* [Spanish word for lake]."

There is a difference of opinion as to whether code switching and code mixing are truly different language phenomena. The prevailing view is that the two are not different and should be understood as variations of a unique process in language alternation (D'Souza, 1992; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Tay, 1989). Hence, in this article, they are viewed as similar, yet distinct, phenomena since the differentiation can be vague and is not generally agreed upon by all researchers. Therefore, the term of "code switching" shall refer to both across sentence switches and within sentence switches.

Clearly, SLPs need a better understanding of second language acquisition issues and how the two languages are used in classroom contexts by second language learners. Information about specific classroom discourse (i.e., code switching) with CLD students can assist SLPs in language assessments of these children. This article reports a recent study that investigated language use in one school located in a rural area of southwestern Minnesota. The following were examined: What types of language functions specific to code switching are used in the ESL classroom? Who uses these code switched language functions?

METHODS

Qualitative, ethnographic, field based observations were performed, with specific attention to observations of one ESL classroom (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Data were gathered from observations and on-line language transcriptions of classroom utterances over an extended period of 4 months. Authenticity was obtained through the triangulation methodology by (a) having two separate observers, (b) collecting the data over an extended period of four months (resulting in multiple observations), (c) conducting informal interviews with the ESL teacher and aide, and (d) conducting a formal exit interview with the ESL teacher and aide.

PARTICIPANTS

Observations were conducted in an ESL classroom in a small community elementary school in the United States. On-line, language transcripts of the teacher's, teacher aide's, and students' utterances were obtained. The community and the elementary school were both reported to be 30% Hispanic (Amato, 1996). All of the students enrolled in the ESL classroom spoke Spanish as their first language.

The participants for this study consisted of the ESL classroom teacher, the ESL teacher aide, and students in the classroom. According to formal and informal interviews (i.e., self-reports from the teacher and teacher aide), the ESL teacher was partially proficient in Spanish, while the ESL teacher aide was highly proficient in Spanish (Spanish is her first language). The ESL teacher had 10 years of teaching in the ESL classroom, whereas the ESL aide had taught in this capacity for 15 years. The ESL teacher stated in her opinion and through use of portfolio assessments that the students ranged in proficiency from minimal English ability to moderate English proficiency in all language

abilities (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing). The students in the ESL classroom ranged in grade level from kindergarten to sixth grade. The class size ranged from 5 to 20 students due to the pull-out nature of the program. Up to three different sessions could be occurring simultaneously with the teacher and the teacher aide.

It is important to note that the students in this school were transitioned into an all English inclusive classroom after 2 to 3 years of ESL instruction. Brice and Montgomery (1996) stated that this occurrence is typical of many ESL programs. Thus, the student's English skills were a major focus of content instruction in addition to being the medium for all other instruction. English was the language used for classroom instruction in the ESL classroom, although Spanish was also used during ESL classroom instruction. In addition, numerous instances of language alternations (code switching) of Spanish and English were noted in the ESL classroom.

Procedures

Field-based language transcripts were obtained (i.e., the language transcripts were written on-line as the utterances were spoken). Audio and video taping were deemed to be too intrusive to the language collection in the classroom. The authors are aware of this limitation. The data were gathered over a period of 4 months. A total of 17 separate visits were conducted by two researchers yielding an overall observation total of 38 hours and 10 minutes. Hence, the data were gathered with repeated observations of variables across time.

The data collected in this study were linguistic and social-interactive in nature. Although the data were taken from on-line transcriptions, the validity of the language utterances was established by the extensive amount of data that was collected and analyzed (i.e., 1500 utterances were analyzed; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Interrater reliability was established by process and product. The researchers coded the behaviors together over four sessions of 1 hour each for a total of 4 hours. Hence, this portion of the reliability was established by means of process. Interrater reliability of greater than 90% was established between the researchers for the language analyses for the pragmatic functions. Two hundred and ninety-three codings were scored by the two researchers. An interrater agreement of 91.12% was obtained (i.e., 267 agreements/293 agreements and disagreements). Interrater reliability for the general code moves between the two raters was 100%, representing a high degree of accuracy.

Results

Descriptive analysis of the data revealed the percentage of code switching to total number of utterances to be 143/1505 = 9.50%. The directionality of the code switched (intersentential) utterances indicated that the majority of code switching was to Spanish (89/143 = 62.22%). Code switching to English consisted of 54/143 = 37.78%. Instances of correct code switching use according to speaker indicated that the teacher and teacher aide code switched the majority of the time 175/288 (60.7%), while students code switched to a lesser extent 113/288 (39.3%). All code switched utterances were judged to be grammatically correct according to the syntactic constraints of code switching set forth by Poplack (1980) and Poplack and Sankoff (1980). Instances of code switching in the ESL classroom by teacher, teacher aide, and student utterances are found in Table 1.

Observations

Overall, the ESL classroom appeared to be highly teacher directed as evidenced with a high degree of questions, commands, feedback, and informatives. The high number of commands (16.99%) and in particular direct task requests (7.43%; e.g., the teacher says "You need to read. Just, just here Nancy") supported the notion that the ESL classroom was teacher directed. The high number of questions (28.17%) also validated this notion. When students answered a question, it reflected the typical "IRE" pattern in which the teacher *Initiated*, students *Responded*, and the teacher *Evaluated* the response (Cazden, 1988; Lin, 1990). Brice and Perkins (1997) stated that ESL students need opportunities to practice and rehearse their English skills. Hence, the IRE pattern observed by many

TABLE 1

INSTANCES OF CODE SWITCHING (INTERSENTENTIAL AND INTRASENTENTIAL) IN THE ESL CLASSROOM BY TEACHER, TEACHER AIDE, AND STUDENT UTTERANCES.

Code Move/Code Function	*Code Switching*	*Code Move/Code Function*	*Code Switching*
Questioning	37	**Informative**	32
Task Question	4	Declaration	8
Rhetorical Question	2	Explaining	6
Procedure Question	2	Informative Content/Task Related	7
Asking Permission	0	Informative Personal	4
Factual Question	6	Giving the Answer	7
Comprehension Question	8		
Content Question	3		
Vocabulary Question	6	**Starting a Lesson**	3
Information Check	4	Lead Statement	0
Higher Level Question	0	Shifting Topics	0
Personal Question	3	Starter/Filler	3
Feedback/Reinforcement	31		
Reprimand	0	**Seeking Clarification**	1
Enticement	0	Clarification	1
Correction	5	Translating	0
Acknowledgment	0	Seeking Help	0
Reiteration	24		
Reiteration from Other's Statement	2		
Giving an Example	0	**Ending a Lesson**	6
		Cuing to Leave	4
Answering/Responding	47	Cuing to Finish	2
Translating a Response	37	Departures	0
Choral	0		
Answering Out Loud	5		
Answering in Response to Other's Question	5	**Speaking Out Loud**	4
		Self Talk	4
		Practicing	0
Commands	17		
Direct Task Request	5	**Other**	47
Indirect Task Request	6	We Code	27
Redirection to Task	4	Anticipation Code Switching	3
Seeking Response with Fill-in Response	3	Diglossia	17
Directing to Lesson	0	Apologizing	0
Personal Request	0	Reading	0
Calling upon a Student	0	Turn Taking	0

teachers does not provide opportunities for ESL students to practice their English skills.

The types of high frequency language functions specific to the ESL classroom included use of vocabulary questions, corrections, clarifications, translating responses, and cuing to leave the classroom. Observation of the classroom language functions of the ESL classroom revealed that they focused on making the English language meaningful.

The most common language functions of classroom discourse with CLD students (as also described by Pennington, 1995), involved the following:

1. *Classroom performance which includes* (a) direct task request, (b) starter-fillers, (c) enticement or prompting, (d) directing to lesson, and (e) indirect task requests.
2. *Content/lesson instruction which includes* (a) reiteration (specific to bilingual classrooms), (b) comprehension question (more specific to bilingual classrooms), (c) vocabulary question (more specific to bilingual classrooms), (d) translating or translating a response (also specific to bilingual classrooms), (e) informative, (f) explaining, (g) declarations or commenting, and (h) factual questions.

An analysis of the frequency of the code switching revealed that the ESL teacher and teacher aide were the predominant users of code switching (77%). Most utterances were switched to Spanish (across sentence or intersentential alternations) and the base language of all within sentence switched utterances (intrasentential alternations) was Spanish. Hence, it appears that since English was the predominant medium of instruction the only direction for a code switch was to Spanish. And once a switch did occur, it appears that Spanish became the base language for the utterance.

Analysis of the pragmatic functions of language use was not found to be specific to any particular function. (Refer to the Appendix for definitions and examples of the macro and micro pragmatics of language.) Within sentence switches were used more for diglossia (or language used for specific academic purposes) and for the purpose of explaining. All other uses of language favored across sentence switches.

> Language use is not an isolated activity. Anderson (1997) indicated that as bilingualism is both a social and linguistic phenomenon (Hamers & Blanc, 1989), establishing language impairment in bilingual children encompasses more than analyzing language performance. It also includes carefully studying the sociolinguistic environment of each bilingual child that is referred for assessment. (p. 2)

Thus, SLPs must be knowledgeable of how to facilitate second language learning, how language is used in classrooms, and what different language demands are placed upon students as they transition into different environments.

Discussion

Just as no single teaching approach is appropriate for all students whose native language is English, there is no one approach to facilitate English language instruction that is universally applicable for all culturally and linguistically diverse learners. However, a growing body of research (Canale & Swain, 1980; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Dulay & Burt, 1972; Krashen, 1981) suggests a number of strategies and tools which have proven valuable in facilitating academic oracy and literacy for second language learners. These have included use of the student's first language as much as possible, use of culturally relevant language experience as the basis of classroom instruction, using students as informants regarding their own community language patterns, and finding ways to incorporate community norms of linguistic and cultural interaction into classroom lessons (McGroarty, 1991).

Of critical importance to SLPs is the knowledge and recognition of communicative events such as code switching. The ability to differentiate normal and disordered language patterns in bilingual speaking situations is a necessity for SLPs working with CLD students. The SLP must be knowledgeable of the influences from alternating languages (such as moving from Spanish to English). She or he must also be able to indicate idiosyncratic individual difficulties that some CLD students may show with production or com-

prehension of English. The SLP must then choose relevant techniques and strategies which can be applied to support ESL students learning English for oral communication and classroom tasks.

With regard to the previously stated questions, the review of these investigations is summarized. The first question addressed: What types of code switched language functions are found in the ESL classroom? It was observed and later verified through teacher interviews that the ESL classroom used language that served the macro functions of classroom performance (i.e., management) and content instruction. Functions specific to code switching included (a) reiteration (to ensure understanding of instructions and content information), (b) comprehension question (to ensure that students were keeping up with the pace of instruction), (c) vocabulary question (teaching vocabulary), and (d) translating or translating a response (this function also served as a comprehension check).

One observation from this study was that code switching was only employed by teachers and students when in the presence of bilingual listeners. The teachers and students were observed in other situations where only monolingual, English speakers were present (e.g., in the general education classroom, milk time in the lunch room, during recess, and during conferences with other teachers). Interestingly, Valdes-Fallis (1978) points out that normally developing CLD children will not alternate between two languages with persons who speak only one of the languages. Children generally will choose the language that the interlocutor, child, or adult speaks more fluently or may use code switching when she or he perceives that the other speaker has language limitations. Thus, children will make decisions about the language to be used in a given situation, the topic, and the language preference of the listener (Genishi, 1981).

Of all the instances of code switching and code mixing observed (41 instances), 100% of the utterances were grammatically correct for Spanish, English, and Spanish-English according to the linguistic rules reported by Poplack (1980) and Poplack and Sankoff (1980). Poplack and Poplack and Sankoff iterate the rules of equivalence constraint (syntactic rules of each language cannot be violated) and the free morpheme constraint (i.e., language switches may not occur around a bound morpheme) within code switched and code mixed language. Therefore, use of code switching in and of itself is not indicative of a language disorder or language confusion.

The second question asked: Who uses these code switched language functions? The answer to this inquiry was found in the ethnographic field notes. Observations that the ESL teacher, the ESL aide, and students all used code switching. However, since the teacher and teacher aide dominated talk in the classroom it was noted that they used code switching to a much higher degree than the students. Code switching was noted to be a high frequency occurrence in the ESL classroom, contrary to the ESL teacher's stated practice of teaching only in English. In a reliability check by three participants it was found that the ESL teacher, ESL teacher aide, and the ESL students alternated languages 18.30% of the time (i.e., code switched utterances to total number of utterances). The ESL teacher and the ESL teacher aide were aware of their code switching behaviors; however, it appeared that they were not aware of the extent of their code switching. Analysis of the transcripts indicated that the teacher, teacher aide, and the students did not differ in the types of language functions used, the code switched functions did not differ from English to Spanish, and the teachers and students did not differ in which functions were used across sentences or within sentences. During the final exit interview with the teacher and aide, they stated that their code switching was most likely done to facilitate instruction, particularly the teaching of vocabulary words.

It also appeared that the more bilingual proficient a person was the more she or he engaged in code switching behaviors. Of all the instances of language alternations observed (i.e., 288 instances), 100% of the utterances were found to be grammatically correct for Spanish, English, and Spanish-English according to the linguistic rules proposed by Poplack (1980). Therefore, it can be argued that use of code switching is not necessarily an indicator of a language disorder as believed by many SLPs (Cheng & Butler, 1989). In fact, a variety of studies of code switching have demonstrated just the opposite. Code switching has been shown to be a complex, rule-governed phenome-

non that requires a high degree of linguistic competence in more than just one language (Auer, 1984; Poplack, 1980). Thus, these data supported the view that code switching is a natural second language occurrence.

The use of code switching appears to serve as a bridge between the two languages that a person is learning (Faltis, 1989). The use of code switching is a commonly used strategy in CLD children and should not be used to penalize or misdiagnose children as deficient in their language skills. Professionals engaged in facilitating language development might benefit from seizing these instances to engage in incidental teaching and to assist children with communication differences.

Knowledge and understanding about second language issues is critical for SLPs who may be responsible for the assessment and placement of second language learners. The expectations and belief systems of educators and clinicians concerning the language use of culturally and linguistically diverse children may affect and negatively impact the diagnosis and delivery of meaningful and culturally relevant instruction.

Finally, it should be noted that language use and language assessment are not isolated activities. Bilingualism is both a social and linguistic phenomenon. Establishing that a bilingual child has a language disorder encompasses more than just analyzing language performance (Anderson, 1997). A careful assessment of the sociolinguistic environment of each bilingual child that is referred for assessment must be conducted. Thus, SLPs must be knowledgeable of second language acquisition features, how language is used in classrooms, and what different language demands are placed upon students as they function in different classroom environments.

The role of the SLP in the schools has expanded in a variety of ways. The challenges of working with CLD populations has led to the school clinician venturing out into the school milieu to work collaboratively with classroom teachers to conduct intervention to whole classrooms. The four suggestions that follow were gathered from the ethnographic observations. These strategies appeared to facilitate instruction for the CLD students and were found to be appropriate by the teachers in the study during the formal exit interviews. It should be noted that the monolingual SLP may also incorporate these strategies with only a minimal knowledge of the student's native language.

1. *Flow of Instruction.* A strategy suggested by Faltis (1989) focuses on the use of code switching to facilitate the flow of instruction. An approach such as Jacobson's (as cited in Faltis, 1989) New Concurrent Approach can be used as a model to incorporate the use of two languages during instruction. The monolingual SLP may use words like "si" (yes), "y qué mas" (and what else), as prompts so that students continue communicating. She or he may also use the native language by incorporating the use of numbers in counting. The ESL teacher in this study displayed limited Spanish speaking skills yet she utilized certain key vocabulary words to supplement her teaching instruction. For example, the teacher says, "You got a different name for your *grandmother* don't you? *Abuelita*?" [Grandmother?, used in diminutive sense]
2. *Native Language Appreciation.* The use of the student's native language also conveys an unsaid appreciation of the student's language and culture. The following example illustrates this point.

   Student, "We're done."
   Teacher, "Muchas gracias señoritas" [Thank you very much young ladies.]

   The three Spanish speaking students then giggle.
3. *Spontaneous Language Use.* The SLP should allow the students to code switch to facilitate spontaneous language use. It was observed in this study that use of code switching allowed for more spontaneous language use which prompted increased English use.
4. *Economy.* Code switching, in the use of checking vocabulary understanding or the translation of teacher utterances, expedited learning. It was more economical to use the Spanish word after the English word was provided than to offer a definition. An example follows:

   Teacher, "M. what is a stick? Palo [stick]. Mud likes to chew on a stick."

SUMMARY

The use of code switching appears to serve as a bridge between the two languages that a person is learning (Faltis, 1989). The use of code switching is a commonly used strategy in CLD children and should not be used to penalize or misdiagnose a child as deficient in their language skills. Professionals engaged in facilitating language development might benefit from seizing these instances to engage in incidental teaching and to assist children with communication differences.

Knowledge and understanding about second language issues is critical for SLPs who may be responsible for the assessment and placement of second language learners. The expectations and belief systems of educators and clinicians concerning the language use of culturally and linguistically diverse children may affect and negatively impact the diagnosis and delivery of meaningful and culturally relevant instruction.

Finally, it should be noted that language use and language assessment are not isolated activities. Bilingualism is both a social and linguistic phenomenon. Establishing that a bilingual child has a language disorder encompasses more than just analyzing language performance (Anderson, 1997). A careful assessment of the sociolinguistic environment of each bilingual child that is referred for assessment must be conducted. Thus, speech-language pathologists must be knowledgeable of second language acquisition features, how language is used in classrooms, and what different language demands are placed upon students as they function in different classroom environments.

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APPENDIX
Micro-language Functions—Definitions and Examples

Classroom Performance

Direct task request: A directive is a use of speech to get other persons to do what the speaker wants them to do. A teacher directive can be defined as any utterance or nonverbal act by the teacher whose function is to get a student to change his or her behavior in compliance with the teacher's wishes (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982). Typically in the direct task request function the teacher or aide asks students to perform a direct request. It is clear and obvious what the request is and who should carry it out. For example,

Teacher, "M. You need a pencil."

Teacher, "E. is reading."

Aide [From mathematics lesson], "Thirty-four on here. Where is it? You need to write it down."

Aide [From mathematics lesson], "You need to put three and four here."

Indirect task requests: An indirect request alludes to the task to be performed. The task is not explicitly stated, however it is inferred. For example:

Teacher, "Now everyone has to help me do our writing."

Aide [Student is off-task], "M., you counting?" [also a redirection to the task]

Aide [The students are waiting for another student before beginning a task], "*We gotta wait for H.* Look at your spelling words while we wait for H."

Directing to lesson: This request is more specific than the direct task request. It is content based whereas the former is task based. It is a prompt to the lesson. For example:

Aide, "I think you're going to put three forward."

Aide, "You need to leave a space for the answer."

Aide, "You need to read. Just, just here N."

Teacher, "Wait, what do you do at a period? Stop, take a break."

Teacher, "First you write the base word here."

Starter-filler: Gumperz (1982) notes the use of an interjection to mark a sentence in codeswitching. Use of words such as "okay," "uh-huh," "a ver" ("pues") as seen in conversation act as interjections, starters, or fillers. As a starter, the word serves to alert the listener that new or important information is to be given. Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi (1992) have identified the function of attention getting or attention focusing devices by teachers to obtain classroom attention. As a filler, words like "okay," indicate that the speaker is processing information or that she or he may still be holding the conversational floor. For example:

Aide, "*Okay*, tu tienes que poner partes, fraciones" [you have to put parts, fractions]."

Aide, "M. won. *Okay*, everybody pick up the bears."

Student, "*A ver* [let's see], Mississippi."

Enticement/prompting: Enticement may take several different forms such as prompting or providing some positive reinforcement. The positive reinforcement is usually verbal and immediate. The purpose of the enticement is to keep students involved and engaged in the task. An example:

Teacher, "Oh, you made something at the beach. What is this?"

Aide, "How about one more, otro mas?" [another one?]

Aide [From a story listening task and answering questions], "Where does it tell her name? At the very beginning of the story who's talking?"

Teacher, "Okay, good, keep going."

Teacher [From a reading activity], "You can do it M. You can read along. Yes, everybody. Yes, everybody."

Content/Lesson Instruction

Reiteration: In reiterations, the speaker repeats what was said for emphasis (Gumperz, 1982; Kamwangamalu & Lee, 1991). This strategy may be used for different purposes as in vocabulary reiteration (i.e., do you understand the word), comprehension reiteration (e.g., do you grasp the material, do you understand the instructions), task reiteration (e.g., do you understand the task), or content reiteration (i.e., do you understand the content or scope of the material). An example:

Aide, "Why is he afraid of the ball. *Tiene miedo*" [He is afraid]. R., *he is afraid of the ball.*

Aide, "Dos y que? *Two plus what?*"

Teacher [From a reading lesson], "Do you have one of these in your house, *en su casa*?" [in your house?]

Aide [From mathematics addition lesson], "Three and six more M. *Three and six more M.* No, no fingers."

Comprehension question: In a comprehension question the person needs to understand the information in order to proceed with the lesson or task (Bloom, 1956). An example:

Teacher, "What can we do at the beach?" [Note that the question is posed to students who are still at the beginning stage of processing, and comprehending English.]

Aide [From a mathematics counting lesson], "M. You counting? Well, what do you think? *Do you have enough?*"

Aide, "Each book, cada libro es uno. Aqui tienes uno." [Each book is one. Here you have one.] *How many does K. have?*

Aide [From mathematics lesson of using pictures of flowers for semi-abstract representations], *"Vimos mas de estas o de estas flores?"* [Did we see more of these flowers or these flowers?] Okay, you put the zinnias.

Vocabulary question: This type of question addresses the understanding of specific vocabulary on the part of the students. For example:

Aide, "Sabes que quiere decir 'team'?" [Do you know what 'team' means?]

Aide, "Te acuerdas lo que quiere decir 'less'?" [Do you remember what 'less' means?]

Teacher [From a vocabulary review lesson], *"What is this word?* No, this word? Harmful, como a dañar algo [like to hurt something]. *But which one can hurt the air? What is a hurt?* You're ____ . *You're what? But what is it?* You're hurt."

Teacher, "You got a different name for your *grandmother* don't you? *Abuelita?* "[Grandmother?, used in diminutive sense.]

Translating a response: The speaker translates a response previously uttered by the other person. This may involve a one-word translation, for example,

Aide, "Do you know what *near* means?"

Student, "*Tocar* [touch]."

Teacher, "Soon he would be richer than any king on earth. Entiendes, *rey* [understand, king?]? *King?*"

Aide, "What is *bring?*"

Student, "*Traer* [to bring]."

Teacher, "Do you know what it means to *attack?*"

Student, "*Atacar?* [To attack?]"

Informative: Phillips (1975) and Tay (1989) identified the function of elaboration or expanding. This function serves to augment utterances by the teacher. The informative function provides the listener with a small piece of information, for example:

Student, "No, lo miro porque esta negro" [No, I look at it because it is black].

Aide, "Si, trés pajaros" [Yes, three birds]. She was telling me about three birds [speaking to the teacher].

Student [to another student], "Copycheater."

Aide, "A. *The word is copycat.*"

Teacher [Lesson on the U.S. Civil War], "*The south attacked Ft. Sumter.* Do you know what it means to attack?"

Teacher, "*I'm going to go one by one.* What is this one S.? *All of these words are from your studies.*"

Explaining: The function of explanation serves as a content marker indicating key points in teaching. Teachers emphasize key elements through explanation (Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi and Bunyi, 1992). Explaining involves detailed dissemination of information which may involve two or more facts or bits of information. For example:

Student, "Esto aqui es la tierra y aqui es el cielo" [This is the earth and this is the sky].

Teacher, "The blue whales are the largest. Can anybody find anything about the humpback whales? Here it is, the humpback whales."

Teacher, "Oh, we have lots of deer in Minnesota. Baby deer are called fawns. In this picture they're pretending to look for deer."

Teacher [Mathematics lesson], "Twelve. Think A., What goes into 12? When you go to the store and buy 12 eggs. What is 12? Dozen."

Declarations/commenting: The speaker provides a comment, or point of view related to the task or lesson. For example:

Aide, "Good, you're all finished."

Student, "I know hare, but I don't know how to spell it."

Teacher, "J. Lets work on your reading. *Oh my, look at the clock. He doesn't need a break today.*"

Student, "I finished."

Student commenting about another student, "A. tan poco ha acabado" [A. has also not finished].

Student comes over and tells the teacher about space rockets and then goes and sits down, *"Los que van al espacio, como los que van al espacio"* [The ones who go to space, like the ones that go to space].

Teacher, "What's he talking about?"

Factual questions: This is similar to Bloom's (1956) knowledge question which consists of the provision of basic information. It requires a simple answer. Examples:

Aide, "How much here? How much money?"

Aide, "What's the next story?"

Aide [From a reading activity], "*Are they in the garage?* They made a tent in the garage? *How long did they play in the snowhouse?*"

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RESISTANCE THEORIES: EXPLORING THE POLITICS OF OPPOSITIONAL BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

Special educators have historically used psychological theories to explain students' disruptive and oppositional behavior. Sociological research and theories have played a secondary or even nonexistent role. The sociology of education tradition within general education has developed an extensive literature examining student misbehavior. This article presents the resistance theories, one strain of the critical sociology of education. Given the preponderance of students of lower social class and minority group status within special education, these theories offer insightful and useful ways for special educators to understand the political nature of oppositional behavior. These theories provide suitable ways of interpreting the underlying political tensions that reside behind behavior and guidance for teachers who want to develop the school as a community enacting the social ethics of democracy.

Special educators have often explained the disruptive or oppositional behavior of exceptional education students in terms of a small group of psychological theories. Sociological explanations have remained secondary or have been disregarded within special education research, theory, and teacher preparation programs. In their landmark volumes, Rhodes and Tracy (1972) compiled six conceptual models of human behavior: biophysical, behavioral, psychodynamic, ecological, sociological, and counter-theoretical. Although these six theories have been carried forward within the emotional/behavioral disorders (EBD) texts of Paul and Epanchin (1991) and Reinert and Huang (1987), both the field of emotional/behavioral disorders (e.g., Cullinan, Epstein, & Lloyd, 1991) and the leading behavior management texts (Alberto & Troutman, 1995; Kauffman, 1993; Walker & Shea, 1995) have reduced the original six Rhodes and Tracy (1972) theoretical strands to a group of (at most) three or four psychological theories. Inevitably, sociological approaches have been left out.

For example, when Cullinan et al. (1991) evaluated the major theories of human behavior in the field of EBD, they examined the behavioral, psychodynamic, and ecological theories. Similarly, while Walker and Shea (1995) undoubtedly present the most expansive theoretical coverage of any behavior management text, their book only contains information on four psychological theories: ecological, biophysical, behavioral, and psychodynamic. Again, sociological understandings of human behavior have been ignored.

To some extent, the causes of this slighting of sociology are understandable. It is very likely that special educators have found sociological theories to be too broad and complex and therefore lacking in immediate practicality. After all, a good reading of famous sociologists like Durkheim (1985) or Weber (1957) might not tell you much about working with a nine-year-old who pushes his peers in the lunch line. Additionally, it is not surprising that the traditional special education doctoral and teacher education programs have often forsaken sociological scholarship in favor of psychological theories and research. After all, the first contingent of American special education professors were primarily educated in psychology departments, not sociology departments.

Given the overwhelming predominance of positivist (often behavioral) psychology within American special education (Skrtic, 1991, 1996),

it is not surprising that the theories and research programs of critical sociology have rarely found a place in our primary publication outlets. American special education discourse has generally proceeded from the assumption that disability is a phenomenon of individual functional limitations (Hahn, 1983, 1985), a notion that tends to devalue social analyses that describe disability as "a product of cultural arrangements" (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 331).

Despite the dominance of positivist discourse, a small but thoughtful tradition of sociological literature exists within special education, a stream of work that parallels and intertwines with the ideas of the resistance theorists presented in this paper. British researchers Tomlinson (1981, 1982, 1983, 1988) and Barton (Barton & Meighan, 1979; Clough & Barton, 1995) have produced an extensive sociological literature that frames issues of disability within a lens of critical theory, thereby problematizing individual disability labels by exposing the political practices and processes that produce them. Tomlinson's work in particular examines the way schools defend themselves and the economic-political status quo by creating professional and scientific systems that seek out, measure, and attempt to treat the individual deficiencies of students. On the domestic side of the Atlantic, Mercer (1973), Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls (1986), and Kugelmass (1987) have produced similar analyses of the standard social processes and professional ideologies that make disability diagnoses and programming a reality in public schools. Ethnographic research by Bogdan and Taylor (1989, 1994) and Biklen (1993) have challenged the political production of disability identities by helping professions and service institutions, the social making of lesser forms of humanity.

While the lack of sociological theory and research regarding human behavior (and oppositional or noncompliant behavior in particular) in special education may be quite comprehensible to those trained in traditions of individual psychology, we should realize that many general education researchers and theorists who share our concerns with issues of learning and school behavior have taken a very different path. The sociology of education tradition has flourished for three decades in England and North America, churning out impressive and thoughtful ethnographic investigations of classrooms and schools (e.g., Fine, 1991; Hammersley, 1986; Hammersley & Woods, 1976; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968; Smith & Keith, 1971; Woods, 1990). While the sociology of education has been greatly overlooked by special educators interested in behavioral issues, a fertile library of sociological scholarship has been produced by general education researchers interested in understanding why many students do not achieve or conform behaviorally in schools. As I turn to this sociological literature, I do not casually assume that research concerning general education populations automatically generalizes to special education populations. I do assume, however, that the special educators dealing with behavior problems in general or special classrooms can derive benefit from understanding resistance theories, a group of sociological explanations for the behavior of students who are members of politically marginalized groups. My assumption arises from an awareness that children and youth of working class and racial or ethnic minority status have historically been overrepresented in special education programs (e.g., Chinn & Hughes, 1987; Harry, 1994a; Harry, 1994b; Patton, 1998). The fact that students from cultural groups lacking political power and economic wealth frequently end up labeled as having a disability should alert us to the need for political modes of analysis rather than reliance on notions of psychological deficiency.

In describing student oppositional behavior as social and political in the following pages, I do not intend to nullify biophysical or psychological theories of behavior. No theory of human activity should be viewed as total and inherent to social reality itself. All theories are human attempts to provide an explanatory landscape and vocabulary within which professionals may frame problems and solutions in specific, lived instances. In recent years, special education has been dominated by notions of individual deficit that place the problem within the student while failing to address the complex and political nature of human social life. My intent in this article is to attend to the missing critical discourse in special education, thereby encouraging teachers and scholars to engage and use critical sociological explanations of student behavior that engage the evident realities of social inequality.

I view this effort as allied with yet distinct from the work of socioculturalists in special education (e.g., Artiles, 1998; Harry, 1992; Harry, 1994a; Harry, 1994b; Rueda, 1991; Rueda & Martinez, 1992). Sociocultural researchers have examined issues of bias in referrals and diagnostic procedures, the disproportionate representation of minority groups in special programs, inequity of educational opportunity within special education, and difficulties in cross-cultural communication between schools and parents. In this important research, they shift our attention from traditional concerns of finding and treating individual pathologies to salient issues of social interaction and cultural meaning, to the way human differences across cultural gaps and boundaries are defined and negotiated. While I agree wholeheartedly with this shift, I note that such analyses tend to view issues of student failure in light of issues of cultural and linguistic difference while deemphasizing the prevalence and potency of social class hierarchy within a capitalist society. By drawing from neo-Marxist ethnographers, this article embraces socioculturalism while simultaneously renovating social class as an integral and pivotal aspect of the sociology of schooling.

My goal in this article is the explication of one political strain of sociological research—resistance theories. Given the fact that many special education programs serve students who are disproportionately male, lower or working class, and members of non-White minority groups, special educators are likely to find the conceptual offerings of resistance theorists to be insightful, thought-provoking, and useful.

Resistance theories grow out of the subdiscipline of critical sociology, a neo-Marxist research tradition consisting of ethnographic examinations of how the group conflicts based on class, gender, and race that occur in society at large also take place within schools (Anderson, 1989; Anderson, 1995; Danforth, 1995; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). In this light, a student's noncompliant behavior is not viewed as reflecting aspects of a student's individual psychology so much as enacting the social divisions and inequalities that are prevalent and powerful in modern Western societies. These sociological theorists do not completely disavow individual psychology, but they tend to examine the actions of individuals and small circles of classmates under the larger, more primary framework of the conflicted relationships among cultural and subcultural groups in a society dominated by corporate capitalism, class conflict, and social inequality.

Critical sociology of education research has emphasized the political importance of class, race, and gender, maintaining that group oppressions have historically occurred under one of these nominal banners (Anderson, 1989; Anderson, 1995; Danforth, 1995; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). Sleeter & Grant (1988) advise researchers to integrate categories of race, class, and gender within social analyses. Going a step further, one can easily imagine melding other forms of cultural difference and distinction—sexual orientation, religion, linguistic background, immigration status, and disability status—as useful categories for political examination. In this article, I will rely heavily on the critical sociology tradition within educational research, a field conceptually fueled by Marxist theories that emphasize social class, and to a lesser extent, race and ethnicity. My hope is that special educators will pursue critical analyses that include social class as well as the wider variety of possible social categories that matter in the political life of special education students.

In the pages ahead, I will review the research literature on resistance theories. Then I will examine the practical implications of these ideas for special educators in two ways. I will analyze the tendency of public schools to diagnose behavior disorders among students from minority backgrounds, emphasizing the way examples of cultural difference may be interpreted as indications of individual pathology by public schools that fail to understand the politics of behavior. I will then instruct teachers in the political and practical art of interpreting student behavior within the resistance theories. I will describe this professional activity as working toward the social vision of "creative democracy" articulated by John Dewey (1993, p. 240), a conceptualization that balances the individual and society while valuing communities of freedom, equality, and social diversity. Then I will conclude by offering some practical guidance to the special education teacher who wishes to make use of resistance theories for pur-

poses of cultivating the democratic values of equality and community in the public school.

Resistance Theories: The Politics of Misbehavior

Resistance theories view the oppositional behavior of students from oppressed groups as living artifacts of the broader social inequalities that limit the democratic possibilities within society, demonstrating that even the school is a politically contested space. Within this sociological perspective, the resistant, disruptive, or oppositional behavior of students who are members of politically marginalized groups may be viewed as often personally and socially meaningful efforts to craft identity, relationship, and freedom within educational institutions that fail to acknowledge and respect the subjectivity, history, and cultural background of these students (Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1985; McLaren, 1993; Willis, 1977). Resistance theories contend that the personal and social salience of transgressive behavior frequently lies not in what is lacking (social skills, appropriateness, respect) but in the "symbolic, historical and 'lived' meaning . . . which contests the legitimacy, power, and significance of school culture in general and instruction in particular" (McLaren, 1985, p. 85). For some students of working class and minority cultural backgrounds, patterns and forms of behavior displayed in opposition to the authority of the school take on significance as a means of forging group unity and personal self-esteem. Activity subverting school rules and routines, ranging from the traditional prank of clogging the toilets with paper towels to the subtleties of wearing "inappropriate" clothing or off-task gazing, may be viewed as ritualized performances creating symbols of class-based identity (McLaren, 1985; 1993).

Resistance theories offer social and political analyses of nonconforming students and their adversarial behavior that deviates from the tradition of explaining disruptive behavior through the various strains of psychological theory. The student is viewed as existing in a society marred by social stratification and oppression based on social class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other group categorizations. The school is not a neutral, apolitical territory but a contested institutional terrain in which the complex array of social inequalities of the broader capitalist society are often displayed, reproduced, and contested (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1983). While working class or minority student rebellion rarely takes a form that is consciously political (like a staged protest), the myriad instances of student misconduct and impropriety may act as performative statements of symbolic opposition to the political inequalities encapsulated within the seemingly natural structure and content of the school day.

Willis (1977), MacLeod (1995), McLaren (1993), and Foley (1990) have written insightful ethnographic accounts of working class, secondary students' acts of insurgency. While these researchers did not study students served in special education, their findings may be of tremendous value to special educators who work with students from oppressed groups. These four ethnographies, the primary source material for my summation of resistance theories, emphasize the importance of social class and racial conflicts in both society and the public school.

Each of these critical ethnographies details the depth and nuance of nonconformist student resistance. The strength of these ethnographic works lies not only in the numerous types of defiance documented but also in the strength of the critical analytic framework whereby the school setting is assumed to be a cultural site of active political conflict. Within these studies, the researchers refrain from casually defining the apparently mildest acts of misbehavior (for example, the child who stares into space instead of completing his work) as an irrational violation of unquestionable norms and procedures. Instead, these authors tend to consider even mundane forms of working class student opposition as cultural and personal activity that generates meaning and identity through the subversion and inversion of school conventions and routines students often find empty, boring, and personally stifling.

Resisting What?

Special education researchers tend to say that the oppositional or disruptive behavior of students

with disabilities are caused or produced by the disability itself. Acts of misbehavior are often taken to be symptoms or manifestations of the disorder. Resistance theorists do not assume that social conflicts occurring within schools somehow emanate from deep defects within the neurology or psyche of the student. To resistance theorists, instances of oppositional or disruptive behavior are social phenomena occurring between people rather than solely *within* them. Frequently, these conflicts pit the student against a school authority figure, a teacher, or administrator. At least, that is the tip of the iceberg.

Working from their Marxist orientation, resistance theorists would be assuming an incredible philosophical sophistication on the part of working class students if they were to claim that mundane acts of rebellion and tomfoolery contest the ideology, hegemony, and structure of capitalism. On an abstract theoretical level, they might say that this is what these students are doing (e.g., Willis, 1977). But they could rarely contend that the students themselves view their own transgressive actions in such high-brow terms. We must therefore ask the more practical question: What are these students resisting as they openly and repeatedly disrupt the basic activities of schooling?

MacLeod (1995) answers this question by saying that many public school students do not buy into the "achievement ideology" that is professed by the public schools. He describes the "achievement ideology" as the basic code that underlies much of public schooling: "Behave yourself, work hard, earn good grades, get a good job and make a lot of money" (p. 97). This meritocratic philosophy claims that schooling holds an intimate link to future employment and economic success. The public school is assumed to provide an arena of equal opportunity whereby the student who learns and demonstrates the attitudes and behaviors of the good worker will be rewarded down the line with ample economic and status benefits.

MacLeod (1995) explains that this assumption is problematic at the very least and perhaps even insulting to students who have never and will never experience the comforts and leisure of a middle class life. Within an economy marked by unequal distribution of rewards, the meritocratic promise of the achievement ideology only holds true for the upper echelons of students who gain the credentials necessary for entrance into professional and managerial careers. Although social mobility for other students is possible, the public school primarily serves as a vehicle whereby students retain their initial socioeconomic position. Working class students more often than not end up being working class adults (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1983).

The many working class or poor students who come to the conclusion that they have a very slim chance of riding the rails of educational achievement up to a middle class career find the public school's achievement ideology promise to be empty and oppressive. The meritocratic aphorism often becomes translated into a mantra of passive obedience lacking likely prospects for fulfilling careers and plentiful compensation down the line: "Behave yourself, work hard, earn mediocre grades, get a dull job and make very little money."

Viewed in this light, oppositional behavior can easily be seen as a culturally meaningful act of contention in the face of the subjective experience of oppression and hopelessness. The transgressive student may stand up against a school program that, by his experience and judgment, is playing him for a sucker. The school requires the student to behave according to the twin requirements of compliance and hard work as prepayment for anticipated socioeconomic rewards. Conform and pay your dues in school to earn a bright future. For the student who interprets this as a thin promise, the student who peels back the blinds of meritocracy to see a future of tedious manual labor and low wages, obedience and hard work in school may seem like payments required on a layaway plan that never delivers the goods.

Forms of Resistance

In the current behavioral climate, special educators might view noncompliant behavior as a (soon-to-be-modified) response to an environmental stimuli. In contrast to this behavioral approach which reflexively champions the school's authority over the student, the resistance theorists view such behavior as meaningful activity arising primarily

from the complex, conflicted social dynamics of the classroom, school, and community.

Resistance actions or rituals by recusant poor and working class students within public schools take innumerable forms in daily activity. McLaren (1985) divides these acts into two types, active and passive. We can view these two types as opposing poles on a continuum of resistant activity. McLaren explains the two in terms of the degree to which the student action is overt, intentional, and demonstrative.

> Active resistance rituals are intentional or conscious attempts by students to subvert or sabotage teacher instruction or rules and norms established by school authorities. Passive resistance rituals unconsciously or tacitly subvert or sabotage the normative codes of the dominant school order. (McLaren, 1985, p. 87)

This binary typology is important in that it presents the possibility of resistance with or without a cognitive clarity of intention. The student need not be able to explain transgressive, political intent of his behavior in order for that behavior to be an instance of meaningful resistance.

Passive resistance often consists of what many special educators would call "internalizing behaviors," withdrawals from participation and refusals to go along with the official program. Passive resistance can take many subtle physical and aesthetic forms, including facial expressions (rolling eyes, grimace, sleepy eyes), body posture (slumping disinterest, feet up on desk, turning away from teacher), physical movements (extreme slowness), clothing (taboo attire, coats and hats to hide the face and head), hand gestures (the "finger," local code signals), and voice tone (sarcasm, mock seriousness). Any indication of disinterest, boredom, or displeasure can be viewed as passive resistance.

Additionally, many behaviors and psychological states indicative of passive resistance are also symptoms of depressive and anxious conditions. We need not make a clear distinction between the political and the psychiatric since the human experiences of oppression, silencing, and alienation extract profound emotional costs. The individual who feels rejected, devalued, or controlled often opposes and contests from an emotional place of intense suffering and strain. Derrick Bell (1994) has described the way that protest often occurs due to the fragility of self-esteem and the human need to protect one's dignity. The experience of political inequality twists the individual psyche inside out. Opposition simultaneously arises from and embodies the depths of human suffering.

A common form of passive resistance is described by Kohl (1994) as "not learning," an emotionally powerful but typically unintentional rejection of academic content or learning activities. "Not learning" often involves a deep visceral reaction to the ideas, cultural forms, values, language, or social arrangements of a given lesson or piece of curricular content. The students feel that the knowledge or activity in some way violates their cultural and individual identity, who they take themselves to be, and respond in a manner that forsakes the lesson to embrace and defend the self. While students often cannot adequately understand or articulate this experience in the moment, they frequently freeze, pull back, and refuse to engage the lesson with full investment and concentration. Minority culture, working class, and recent immigrant children often experience this sort of internal repulsion and emotional distancing from academics as they are casually required by teachers to embrace dominant culture values, actions, and language.

Critical ethnographers tend to emphasize the more active forms of resistance, the kinds that are readily available to an observer's eye. I will tap into their work to describe and illustrate four distinctive forms of working class student resistance. This treatment will be far from exhaustive but should provide sufficient insight into how recusant students confront, overturn, and puncture the usual stream of school procedure, activity, and structure. The four resistance forms are:

1. Clowning as symbolic inversion.
2. Ritualized group rebellion.
3. Playful making-out games.
4. Aggressive making-out games.

Each mode of resistance ritual demonstrates a unique way of delaying, disrupting, or sidetracking a standard school exercise in order to clear space for the subjectively and culturally salient world of

working class student meaning. The students literally work to free themselves from the typical dome of school-required attitudes and behaviors.

Clowning As Symbolic Inversion

McLaren (1985, 1993), in his study of a middle school located in a predominantly Portuguese working class section of Toronto, describes a relatively passive and jovial form of resistance enacted in the character of the class clown. McLaren documented and analyzed the behavior of several class clowns. These students resisted through a humorous brand of "symbolic inversion," playful actions that highlight and mock the unwritten rules and codes of classroom activity, thereby stripping them of their unquestioned, privileged nature. Instead of directly confronting the rules and norms of behavior, the class clowns used satire in "deconstructing the familiar" (McLaren, 1985, p. 90), turning the naturalness and assumed order of classroom activity upside-down through parody and irony. The buffoonery operates as both a source of fun and as an insightful commentary on the typically unacknowledged silliness or arbitrariness of many standard teacher behaviors, instructional activities, and classroom procedures. One class clown named Vinnie

> would do zany things when the teacher's attention was somewhere else; he would roll his eyeballs sarcastically, throw a pen in the air, or joke with his friends. He would make bizarre faces—always incorporating some type of twisted smile. On numerous occasions. . . he gingerly roll(ed) a baseball across the floor, between desks, while others were hard at work. . . . (McLaren, 1985, p. 90)

The class clown does not rise up verbally or physically to decry the rules or norms. He prefers instead to caricature, jest, and gibe, puncturing the authority of the teacher and school with the subtle yet powerful play of resistant comedy.

Ritualized Group Rebellion

Willis (1977), in his classic educational ethnography, follows the daily antics of "the lads," a tightly-knit enclave of highly rebellious, working class students in a British secondary school. The lads carry on a near-constant war with the school faculty, leadership, and the conforming students. They foresee a future of manual labor in the tradition of their fathers and find the abstract and intellectual school tasks to be irrelevant to their lives. Their hijinks and insurgencies often contribute to a sense of group identity and unity. They mock the competitive individualism encouraged by the school in favor of a form of peer group communalism in which the cohesiveness and continuation of their group always comes before the well-being of any one individual. One particular incident demonstrates both this group unity and the cultural and historical nature of the social class conflict between the school and the lads.

A long-standing tradition within the lads' working class neighborhood and families involves being drunk on the last day of school. During lunchtime, the lads have a number of drinks in the local pubs. They return to school inebriated for a final afternoon of laughter and goofing around. To the lads, this is an important ritual of resistance that marks the last day of school as important and memorable. Additionally, it continues the rebellious activities of their parents who did the same thing a few years before. Notably, such misbehavior on the final day evades the usual punishments that would have come about on any school day earlier in the year.

Not surprisingly, the school headmaster views this behavior as a serious violation of the rules. He sends letters home to the parents informing them of their sons' behavior and asking parents to come to the school for meetings to discuss the behavior. None of the parents accept this offer. Instead, they scoff at the headmaster's irrational silliness in expecting the lads not to enact the standard final day ritual.

Willis (1977) describes the drinking ritual as an act of resistance that bonds students to each other, their families, and their working class heritage.

> Certainly 'the lads' understand the symbolic importance of drinking as an act of affiliation with adults and opposition to the school. It is most important to them that the last lunchtime of their last term should be

> spent in a pub, and that the maximum possible alcohol be consumed. This is the moment . . . to be remembered in future years . . . (p. 20)

A specific moment, the drunken lunch, is made memorable. The social importance of this act relies on the group nature of the drinking, the history of other loved ones and cultural colleagues having done likewise, and the obvious conflict between drunkenness and school attendance. For the lads, to behave like the adults in their community while poking a stick in the eye of the school is a rare moment that will not be forgotten.

Making-out Games: Playful and Aggressive

Foley (1990) provides an ethnography of a small town in south Texas, focusing on the political conflicts between the Anglos and growing Mexican population. He examines the politics of race and gender within the classrooms, hallways, and on the football field of the local high school. He uses the term "making-out game" to describe how students, in response to the monotonous quality of school activities, attempt to sidetrack or circumvent the teacher and the lesson in order to make the work easier and more interesting.

> Schoolwork often does not challenge academic workers (students) to be creative and develop human potential. Academic workers, therefore, enjoy outwitting teachers and slowing down the boring routines of pedagogical formalism. The making-out games students played with teachers usually had the objective of getting the best grades possible for the least amount of work. (Foley, 1990, p. 113)

Without student resistance, the teacher would simply dictate the direction and content of the lesson. Perhaps the teacher would lecture or the students would be directed to complete specific tasks. In the "making-out game," students actively engage the teacher in an interactional jousting match, a drama of control in which the teacher's lesson is altered, slowed, or even halted. Students attempt to steal the floor and make the classroom activities their own.

Foley distinguishes between two types of making out games, "playful" and "aggressive." The primary differences between the two types involve the degree of flexibility of the teacher and the degree of hostility on the part of the students. In the playful game, the teacher and the students conflict in a friendly and mutual fashion. The students attempt to cajole or con the teacher to set aside or modify the lesson. They try to steer the teacher away from the stiffness and boredom of the standard content. This can only occur if the teacher is flexible enough to joke and verbally play with the students. In the aggressive game, the students present firm and harsh roadblocks to the progress of the lesson, often angering the teacher. This tends to occur in the case of the more rigid, authoritarian teacher. In fact, the aggressive game plays off the teacher's rigidity by presenting a student opposition just as sharp and unyielding.

The most common form of playful making-out game is the group parody of a lesson. Foley (1990) describes an example from a high school American Literature class taught by Mr. Read, a well-liked teacher who is generally considered cool by his students. This game depends on the students knowing that Mr. Read is very concerned with them learning how to correctly categorize the short stories they read in his course. Two girls use this knowledge to sidetrack him by asking him to explain the difference between romanticism and realism. The girls feign both interest in the topic and ignorance of the answer to their question. This spurs Mr. Read to leave his planned lesson in order to review the basics of romanticism and realism. The boys in the back of the class know that the girls in the front have stolen control of the lesson from Mr. Read. They want to continue the game by hijacking control from the two girls. They do so by asking Mr. Read a new question: What is so important about the writings of Emily Dickinson? As Mr. Read bites the bait and answers this question, the boys pretend interest and gloat that they have emerged victorious over the girls.

In this scene, the students derail the official lesson with well-placed questions that address the subject matter while shifting the teacher away from actually covering the content scheduled for

the day. Foley (1990) concludes that the result is a mutually constructed coffee break, a hiatus from academic work created by the interaction of the students and the teacher.

In contrast to the gentle comradery of the playful making-out game, the aggressive making-out game is harsh, combative, and caustic. Foley explains that the aggressive games often occur in the conflict between uncompromising, authoritarian teachers and their students. These teachers will not play, will not veer slightly off course, so the students respond with force and open confrontation.

Foley (1990) gives the example of Mr. Cain, a tough, no-nonsense, ninth-grade science teacher who attempts to conduct a lesson reviewing previously covered information about acids and bases. The students do not respond to his questions and he quickly becomes frustrated. Angry, he sends students one by one to the chalkboard to do formulas. As Mr. Cain might well have anticipated, each student fails. The teacher shouts at the students, telling the whole group to sit down. Next, to provide an instructive contrast to the majority of the class who failed to learn the subject matter, Mr. Cain turns to two students he knows will have the correct answers. These two loyalists come through by answering correctly. Mr. Cain has successfully played off his strong students against his weak students, mocking the latter by lauding the former.

Given this level of animosity between teacher and class, what happens next is not surprising. Subsequent to this blackboard incident occur two examples of aggressive making-out games. The first is a subversive little drama of ambiguity played by Jim and Charles, two of the top students in the class. Each boy, in turn, walks up to the wastebasket and tosses his homework paper away. This act is accompanied by the sad admission by each boy that he didn't do it right anyway. They appear to be supporting Mr. Cain's contention that the class is full of dummies and slackers who performed poorly on the assignment. Yet they might also be mocking Mr. Cain by faking public contrition for their academic sins. Mr. Cain doesn't know how to respond. Are they with him or against him? Their status as high achievers in the class further muddies the waters. It soon becomes clear to Mr. Cain. Jim and Charles initiate a joking round of avoidance questions: "Can I go to the restroom? Can I get a drink?" Mr. Cain turns down each request and the boys laugh. Mr. Cain has been had. He is embarrassed, so he ignores the boys' ploy and moves the lesson along.

The second making-out game is far more aggressive and confrontational than Jim's and Charles's little mockery skit. This game is played out by members of the "vatos," a group of working class, Mexican-American students whose rugged style and openly rebellious behavior is a nearly continuous affront to the authority of the teachers. Carlos initiates the game by holding up his book and pointing to a specific homework problem, "Do we have to do this one?"

Mr. Cain looks in Carlos's book and answers, "Yes."

"I've already done that one." Carlos says with a laugh.

Juan laughs and joins in. "I'm not going to do that one."

Mr. Cain tries to stem the tide by declaring firmly, "Everyone is going to do every problem."

Mr. Cain's resolute statement only sets the scene for further resistance. Carlos shouts back defiantly, "I'm not." He then explains how he has no time for homework. Besides, he says, he will just copy the answers like everyone else does. This claim that even the best students are only copying their homework answers further irritates Mr. Cain because he believes that the achieving students are hard workers and the vatos are lazy. This verbal conflict continues until Mr. Cain finally threatens to give detention to anyone else who horses around. Having pushed Mr. Cain to the limit, the vatos then back off.

Understanding Mr. Cain's harsh demeanor and inflexible tendencies, both the duos, Jim/Charles and Juan/Carlos, have provoked their teacher to abandon the lesson about acids and bases. They have anticipated his emotional and behavioral responses to their provocations, thereby allowing them to lure the teacher many miles down a stream of conflict and exasperation. Foley further points out that while the embarrassed Mr. Cain sidesteps the subtle derision of Jim and Charles ("hardworking achievers"), he threatens punishment to the students like Juan and Carlos ("lazy non-achievers") who openly oppose his authority.

In the next section, I will extend this analysis to look briefly at how the politics of oppositional behavior results in the disproportionate identification of EBD among African-American and working class male students. I will conclude with a series of practical questions for the educator who wishes to utilize this resistance theory knowledge in service of the democratic aims of equality and community.

Behavior Tracking: EBD and Students from Devalued Groups

> [D]ifferent groups at different points in the social order tend to have their own typical forms of socialization and interaction and tend to use different preferred mental styles and forms of behavior in different social settings. . . . (E)ducational practices tend to favor the preferred mental styles and forms of behavior of certain groups over others, the standard patterns of the dominant social groups. (Carrier, 1983, p. 961)

The fact that EBD programs and classrooms are disproportionately filled with male, African-American, and working class students is a truism that oddly attracts little questioning from researchers (Danforth, 1998; Foster, 1986; Wagner, 1995). The resistance theories put forth by the critical ethnographers provide us with a way of interpreting why and how these particular groups of students are frequently classified EBD and therefore often schooled in segregated EBD classrooms. Understanding how and why this occurs can empower a teacher or group of teachers with the critical awareness necessary to make deliberate efforts in opposition to this unfortunate and unjust trend (e.g., Smith, in press).

We can begin to craft a theory explaining the abundance of African-American and working class males in EBD programs by viewing these classes and schools as a specialized form of behavior tracking, an historical extension of existing "ability tracking" structures in public schools after the passage of Public Law 94-142. Tyack and Cuban (1995), in their analysis of the history of educational reform movements, point out that programmatic and curricular reforms undertaken by public schools do not end up looking the way the reformers originally envisioned their projects. Instead, as the various structures, practices, and concepts of the new reform become part of the public school culture, many aspects of the reform tend to take on the shapes and colors of traditional schooling. The public school culture assimilates the new forms into the old forms, thereby enacting the "new" reform in a manner that often leaves the public school barely distinguishable from the way it used to be.

Programs for students categorized as EBD were initiated as part of historic Public Law 94-142, the dramatic public school reform movement on behalf of students with disabilities. The EBD program did not merely attach itself to the edge of the public schools. It was developed within the public schools where the longstanding tradition of "ability tracking" had greatly isolated working class and minority students from their middle class peers. Ability tracking is the practice of grouping students according to assessed ability level. Most public high schools operate a hierarchy of tracks, ranging from the college-bound classes for students assessed to be high achievers to remedial programs for those considered less academically able. The overwhelming evidence from empirical research demonstrates the preponderance of working class, poor, and ethnic minority students in remedial tracks (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Chunn, 1987; Lee & Bryk, 1988; Oakes, 1985, 1990).

To this structural tradition of social stratification by class and race, Public Law 94-142 brought a new, powerful concept and terminology, the idea that an individual's poor academic performance or oppositional behavior may be attributed to an underlying psychological disorder. This new individual pathology concept, in this case the EBD, was woven together with the prior tendency of schools to segregate non-White minority and working class children into special classes.

In reference to Carrier's (1983) words quoted above, we can see the ability tracks as the result of the public schools' interpreting the cognitive and linguistic styles of working class and minority students (often by way of standardized tests) as demonstrative of low levels of academic capability. EBD programs were constructed in this system

of social stratification, thereby becoming the newest track for low-income and minority students. This new brand of tracking extended the previous public school tendencies to disadvantage devalued groups by classifying the styles and forms of behavior common to working class and minority students under the new psychopathology "disorder" terminology. For example, Boykin (1983) explains how the cultural style—the series of conditioned predilections, attitudes, and behavior patterns that one takes on while growing up in home and community—of African Americans is often interpreted as incommensurable with learning by public schools that hold a Euro-American style as the norm. This conflict of cultural values and norms is often casually translated into the individualized problem. The social is made individual and scientifically neutral under the heading of the official "disorder" designation.

While the traditional ability tracks sort and exclude students under the official justification of grouping by academic performance, EBD classrooms and special schools sort and exclude students under the justification of grouping by behavioral performance. Taking into account the previously discussed research literature documenting the many forms of resistance offered by working class and poor students, we can view EBD programs as the tracks specifically designed to house students who engage in dramatic and frequent acts of opposition to school authority. In this light, EBD classrooms may serve as a tool of social exclusion for economically disadvantaged and minority culture students who consistently conflict with the dominant cultural codes of student conduct embraced by the school professionals.

Interpreting Resistance and Cultivating Democracy in the Classroom

One of the standard psychodynamic ways of interpreting a child's behavior is viewing the behavior as a communication emanating from the murky emotional substrate of the child. For instance, a child who shouts "I hate you!" at a teacher may be attempting to communicate a very different message than the surface words might indicate. The psychodynamic therapist or educator may hear the child saying something like, "I'm angry and hurt because you won't spend more time with me." The interpretation shoots beyond the surface behavior into the depths of emotion and emotional connection that are theorized within the psychodynamic approach.

In an effort to make the resistance theories more practical for our work with students, we can fashion a critical approach to interpreting oppositional behavior that parallels the psychodynamic method by moving beyond the surface to interrogate the political complexities behind the behavior. Unlike the psychodynamic approach, interpretation of human activity by way of a critical sociological lens does not view behavior as an individual phenomenon, as something coming forth solely from the individual. Instead, the actions of an individual are interpreted in light of the complex array of social situations and political conflicts faced by the individual, his or her family, and community. Individual behavior is viewed primarily as an artifact of social and political arrangement. The behavior of individual students tells us more about the social and political dynamics surrounding that person's life and schooling, the ways that economic and categorical (class, race, gender, etc.) inequality and strife impact individual life paths, than about that individual's psychological functioning. This sociological interpretation occurs in accord with the resistance theories' emphasis on the frequently political nature of noncompliance and nonconformity in the public school. It is possible for teachers to examine and explore the behavior of individuals and groups in light of the possible underlying political tensions and conflicts that ensnare, flood, and circumscribe those persons in their community and school. A teacher attempting to utilize the resistance theories would need to be intensely aware of the political divisions and asymmetries that envelop, influence, and even capture students, teachers, and schools.

Additionally, if one is to think in social terms, one needs a social vision. A critical sociological apprehension of oppositional and nonconforming behavior necessarily requires some notion of an ideal for social living and political arrangement, some vision of the kind of community one is

attempting to foster both in the school and in society. Edgar (1998) suggests that special educators draw from and reinvigorate the democratic tradition within American society through valuing and enacting equality and community in their professional work. Edgar's understanding of the American tradition of democracy holds closely to John Dewey's articulation of "creative democracy," a personal and communal ethic of egalitarian and respectful social living as the practical, daily goal for our associated activities. It also echoes the political goals of democratic schooling embraced by the resistance theorists (Giroux & McLaren, 1986).

To Dewey (1916, 1927, 1930, 1993, 1994; Westbrook, 1991), democracy is far more than a form of government. It is primarily a creative ethic that remains unfulfilled in the modern climate of competitive individualism, possessive consumerism, and corporate greed. Democracy as an ethical ideal embracing equality and cultural diversity must be constructed, lived, and furthered every day in the activities of average persons. It is a lived ethical understanding of the relationship between the individual and the community through which each is mutually constructed and fulfilled. Avoiding the common view that splits the individual and the larger society in opposition, Dewey's democratic ethics maintains that the well-being of the community and the development of the individual should operate together. The goal of the democratic society is to assemble communities of equality and social support such that the free expression and full development of the individuality of each citizen is of paramount concern. The task of the individual within the democracy is to contribute his or her unique talents and effort to the daily interactions and activities that construct and further the community of freedom and equality.

Vital to this vision of social living is the primacy of cultural critique (e.g., Patton, 1998). Dewey (1930, 1994) held that the primary way that injustices and inequalities continue unabated and unopposed is unreflective habit, the lack of critical analysis of our usual ideas and actions, the perpetuation of yesterday's norms under the weak assumption that tradition is sufficient justification for continuation. Civil rights changes and the gradual amelioration of social inequality to the extent that we have reached at this point in history have relied on the vigilant, critical analysis of the status quo, the traditional, the seemingly unproblematic way of doing things. Dewey's vision of democracy requires a critical, problematizing attitude toward the attitudinal norms and behavioral codes that seem, on first glance, to support equality and freedom. Democracy requires the critical habit of unearthing injustice coated in the comfortable and customary cloak of standard practice.

How does a teacher bring this all together in a practical way, interpreting student noncompliance and noncomformity in the light of the resistance theories while seeking the goal of Deweyan creative democracy in the classroom, school, and community? That teacher would repeatedly ask her or himself the following questions:

1. *What social divisions, conflicts, and inequalities occur in the local community? How are these divisions, conflicts, and inequalities present in my school and classroom?* In most areas of our country, neighborhoods and school districts are de facto segregated on the basis of social class, ethnicity, and race. Teachers can inquire and reflect about how these divisions are played out in attitudes and behavior. For example, an undergraduate student taking one of my courses told our class the story of the time she burned a flag on the front steps of her high school. The meaningfulness of this story is not apparent unless you realize that this student is an African-American woman who grew up in the city of St. Louis and took part in a desegregation plan that bused her out to a wealthy, suburban, White school district for her high school education. Taking this into account, it takes little imagination to understand her story of the way the small contingent of urban African-American students felt misunderstood and mistreated by the school and the other students. Over the course of a school year, a social conflict brewed and culminated in a number of dramatic incidents, manifesting the tensions between the desegregation students and the school administration. Awareness of the macro-politics surrounding the school allows one the opportunity for insight into

micro-politics of race, class, and gender (and other) inequalities within the school.

2. *What social biases and inequalities do I maintain in unintentional ways?* Even liberal, respectful, and socially conscious teachers tend to unintentionally and unknowingly carry on traditions of social bias and unfairness. Often it is only through an intense and even painful examination of one's own biography that a teacher's tendencies to devalue certain groups of students can be exposed and addressed (Abt-Perkins & Gomez, 1993; Danforth, 1997). Looking closely at the social class, gender, and racial lessons of one's childhood can help a teacher understand her or his perspective and ideological blinders. Similarly, careful scrutiny of one's habitual teaching practices can disclose previously unnoticed tendencies to favor certain groups of students over others (e.g., Johnson, 1995). Such an analysis of self may be undertaken alone and in supportive groups of school colleagues. Often dialogues that cross racial and social class lines can bring about fresh understandings that demystify and clarify personal and group biases. While the dawning of new social awareness is not sufficient to the many tasks of democracy—for democratic living requires action—it can serve as an important provocation and rationale for new strategies and initiatives in the social realm.

3. *Do any of my students experience the school day as personally irrelevant, alienating, or stifling? If so, how can a more subjectively relevant school experience be provided?* Obviously, schools should not simply cater to the passing whims and desires of students. On the other hand, mindless delivery of a packaged or preset curriculum can be dry and alienating. As articulated by Dewey (1902), the challenge is to bridge the gap between students' interests in doing personally meaningful work and the broader community's interests in preparing a citizen for participation in a democratic society. Many of the examples of resistance detailed in the preceding pages occurred within a misalliance of students' self-defined interests and the educational structures and activities provided by the school. Often those structures and activities are defended as necessary and unyielding given professional responsibilities to "the curriculum." Such a stance ignores the fact that "the curriculum" should be a program of study and social interaction created for the benefit of students' learning and social development. When, as often occurs, students are forthright and demonstrative in telling us that the program of study or the social arrangements of schooling fail to support their learning and development, our responsibility is to listen, dialogue, and take advice from those who know best how the proverbial rubber hits the road—the students. We would do best to seriously hear the perspectives of students rather than explaining away their often critical or angry words and actions as evidence of individual pathology.

4. *In what ways is my classroom and my school upholding or not upholding the democratic goals of equality, participation, and freedom of expression?* Perhaps the most striking aspect of John Dewey's (1916, 1993; Westbrook, 1991) political philosophy was his emphasis on the lived, daily character of democracy. Dewey considered the practical work of democracy to occur every day as ordinary citizens "make" a democratic community of equality, respect, and pluralistic participation. To Dewey, this bottom-up vision of democracy not only included the school; it required it. He envisioned the school to be the place where children learned how to be democratic citizens. They could only learn this, of course, by doing and experiencing democracy first hand. Apple and Beane (1995) describe a number of schools and classrooms that value and support the active participation of students in the construction and governance of the activities and educational environment, thereby making democracy a lived reality in the experiences of students.

A necessary aspect of valuing and enacting equality as a professional ethic is the act of becoming consciously aware of the kinds of teaching that specifically address and seek

solutions to social inequalities. To this end, teachers may consult the extensive literature on critical pedagogy, approaches to teaching that place inequality and injustice at the heart of the lesson and seek social and political improvement as concrete goals. Ira Shor's (1987) *Freire for the Classroom* is a very readable introduction to this field of theory and practice. Patricia Hinchey's (1998) recent *Finding Freedom in the Classroom: A Practical Introduction to Critical Theory* is a solid addition to the tradition of making critical pedagogy accessible to teachers. Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is the classic text in this area. Herb Kohl's (1994) *I Won't Learn from You: And Other Thoughts on Creative Maladjustment* is a very storied and accessible articulation of resistance theory that is suitable for persons turned off by thick and abstract sociological studies.

Additionally, for those seeking critical pedagogy by special educators, I recommend works by Goldstein (1995) and Smith (in press). Goldstein has demonstrated the use of critical literacy activities with Latino students in special education. Smith (in press), in a unique teacher biography/ classroom ethnography, stories the trials and tribulations of her critical race pedagogy with urban, lower class, African-American and Hispanic-American adolescents considered "emotionally disturbed."

5. *How can I and my students become students of democracy?* It can be too easy for American citizens, teachers and students included, to unthinkingly assume that democracy is an organ that runs on its own power, an unpeopled certainty that requires little attention or interest from the citizenry. It can be likewise too easy to assume that democracy in America is simply going well, swimming along nicely with no need of repair or revitalization. While the resistance theorists do not provide prescriptive advice for dealing with difficult behavior in the public school, they do instruct us on the problems and promises of public schooling in a nation that takes the democratic goals of equality and pluralistic participation seriously. As students of democracy, we embrace the ongoing urgencies and practical challenges of making public schools a place where participatory democracy is studied, discussed, problematized, and enacted (Apple & Beane, 1995; Fraser, 1997; Soder, 1996). A good place for teachers and students of all ages to start is Schniedewind and Davidson's (1998) *Open Minds to Equality*, a rich resource book filled with experiential lessons that help students of varying levels of development critically examine issues of equality and diversity in the social world around them.

Conclusion

In this article, I have provided special educators with an introduction to the critical sociology of the resistance theories. My hope is that by problematizing relations of power within public schools, educators can work toward building democratic communities of equality and freedom, counteracting the prevalent and persistent forms of social assymetry that occur within schools and society. I have attempted to make these ideas practical to teachers by outlining a series of important questions that teachers can use to guide themselves toward a critical pedagogy of democracy.

In conclusion, I'll make explicit a thought that runs as a subtext throughout this article. We special educators spend enormous amounts of time and energy constructing and proliferating pathologies of individuals and far too little time and energy talking about, writing about, and acting upon the priorities of democratic schooling and living. Our opportunity now is to shift the cornerstone of our professional identity away from knowing about and addressing educational pathologies and toward working on creating equality within the diverse communities of our public schools. Our opportunity now lies not in furthering disability constructs that pigeonhole individual students as the disordered sources of the social and instructional weaknesses of our public schools but in actively engaging in the critical intellectual and practical work of fostering equality and freedom in public schools.

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NO EASY WALK: AFRICAN-AMERICAN EDUCATORS COPING WITH THEIR OWN CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

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In parenting a child with a disability, you face a major choice. You can believe that your child's condition is a deathblow to everything you've dreamed and worked toward until now, or you can decide that you will continue to lead this life you'd planned—and incorporate your child into it. Parents who choose the latter course find they do a tremendous amount of growing. They find inner strength they didn't know they had. (Simons, 1987, foreword)

Much has been written about parental reactions to the birth of a child with a disability (Beirne-Smith, Ittenbach, & Patton, 1998; Drotar, Baskiewicz, Irvin, Kennell, & Klaus, 1975; Featherstone, 1980; Kazak & Marvin, 1984; Turnbull & Turnbull, 1990). It has been reported that over 100,000 parents a year face the birth of a child with a disability (Hughes, 1999). Even though 24% of children with disabilities in this nation are African American (U.S. Department of Education, 1992), minimal data are available on the reactions of African-American parents to their children with special needs. Moreover, there is a scarcity of research focusing on how African-American parents deal with their children who have disabilities, particularly African-American parents who themselves are educators. We have chosen to use the term "African American" rather than "Black" in recognition of the Office of Civil Rights' classification of racial groups: Native American or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Hispanic, African American, and Caucasian (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1987).

This article examines the experiences of three African-American female educators and their families in responding to their own children with special needs. We draw upon the narratives provided by these three families to document their personal experiences in parenting children with disabilities. Using fictitious names to protect confidentiality, the parental reactions of these African-American educators with regard to their children with disabilities are explored. Coping patterns that helped to empower these parents to deal effectively with the needs of their children are identified. In addition, we explore some of the unique problems of parenting children with disabilities and describe how these African-American women and their families dealt with their concerns. Though the family strengths within African-American communities have been extensively documented, this literature does not highlight families with children who have special needs. There is a need to interface this literature with our understanding of how African-American families respond to having a child with special needs.

Context of the Family Narratives

The three mothers who participated were African-American parents of children with special needs. Two of them were employed as special educators in a major metropolitan school district in the Southeastern region of the United States. The

third parent was a paraprofessional in a special education classroom in the same school district. When their special needs children were born, the women did not know each other and did not live in the same city; they met shortly thereafter when their children were of preschool age. They became friends as they worked together and began to share stories about the growth and development of their children through visits, letters, personal narratives, and meeting at professional conferences. This linkage has lasted for over 20 years. One of the participants is a co-author of this article.

Just over 10 years ago, the three educators decided to document their experiences as written narratives, because "what we read about in the literature certainly doesn't represent us." This effort represents more than 30 hours of documentation, including telephone calls and home visits to "fill in the gaps."

From these narratives, common themes were identified and patterns and strategies for coping with their children with special needs were addressed. These themes are presented and discussed in this article in relation to the literature about family responses to dealing with children who have special needs. First, we use these narratives to tell their "stories." Issues which appeared to relate to the cultural backgrounds of these families are highlighted. Second, examining ways in which the families coped offers us the opportunity to examine their "lived experiences" in the context of behavior patterns historically viewed as strengths of African-American families.

The use of narratives, as a means of data collection, has received increased interest in the fields of psychology, education, and counseling (Russo & McClure, 1996). This method provides an opportunity to examine in depth the extended concrete experiences of families from diverse cultural backgrounds and to incorporate major findings about effective ways to work with those families into teacher education programs (Harry, Torguson, Katkavich, & Guerrero, 1993). Skinner, Bailey, Correa, and Rodriguez (1999) noted that "the narrative form is not only a means parents use to recount their experiences, but it is also a significant tool for creating understandings and emotions around disability" (p. 482). Moreover, the use of narratives affords the researcher an opportunity to reconstruct knowledge that is already there, whether it is through the use of story telling or metaphor (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990). Clandinin and Connelly added that "narrative and life go together and so the principal attraction of narrative as method is its capacity to render life experiences, both personal and social, in relevant and meaningful ways" (p. 6).

Experiences of Three African-American Families

Marcus's Story

The setting was a metropolitan city in a southern state. The year was 1970. Marcus was the first-born child of this couple. The mother was a secondary education teacher. Her pregnancy was uneventful. Marcus was a full-term baby, and his delivery was smooth with minimal complications. However, at birth Marcus weighed only 4 pounds, 4 ounces, and had mild breathing problems resulting in his immediate placement in an incubator. His mother recalled that the pediatric nurse made a statement about "Mongoloid children," however, the mother did not understand what the nurse's comment meant. Because of her own limited familiarity with the term, she did not clearly comprehend the depth and breadth of that comment or its implications.

Marcus remained in the hospital for 3 weeks, but his mother was released from the hospital approximately 1 week after his birth. Each day, his mother and grandmother would go to the hospital to see Marcus. Other family members and friends frequently accompanied them during their hospital visits from their neighborhoods. Special prayers for Marcus were being said in their church. Some of the female elders in the church were taking turns helping by preparing dinners and delivering them to the parents.

Approximately 1 week after leaving the hospital, the infant developed a skin rash. His mother took him to the doctor; the doctor said that Marcus had "sensitive skin." The following day, the doctor's nurse called and asked her to bring Marcus back for a consultation. The doctor told his mother that he suspected Marcus had Down syndrome.

As evidence of this, the doctor showed the mother features of Marcus's body that were characteristic of Down syndrome (e.g., the palm of Marcus's hand with two lines, the big toe that stood out from the second toe, the flat nose, the slanted eyes, and the thick tongue), a chromosomal abnormality and the most commonly identified genetic cause of mental retardation. The doctor ordered a chromosome test to confirm the diagnosis; the test results verified that Marcus had Down syndrome.

The mother collected her thoughts and prepared to share the news with her husband. Initially, he was very quiet, appearing to collect his own thoughts, and asked few questions. But she could tell that there was initial disappointment, but more than that, uncertainty—first child, first son—all of the dreams wrapped up in that one moment. In recalling this event several years later, the father reflected that "there was much to learn and many benefits from being the parent of a child with special needs."

Jennifer's Story

The setting was rural, in a southern state, and in a town with a population of 10,000. The year was 1965. The mother, an educational assistant who had spent most of her professional career working with youngsters with special needs, and her husband were already the parents of what both parents recalled as "two beautiful full-term babies." She was in the first trimester of her third pregnancy.

When she arrived in the waiting room of her obstetrician, 10 other expectant mothers were also there. Her eyes became fixed on a small child who appeared to have a rash. After observing the child for a few minutes, she finally gained enough courage to go to the receptionist to ask whether she (the receptionist) was aware that a child sitting in the waiting room had what appeared to be measles. The receptionist responded by coming into the waiting room to take a look at the child. The receptionist then went back into the clinic room and summoned the doctor. The doctor told the receptionist to bring the mother back to his office. The receptionist did so immediately.

After her routine examination, she went home. Approximately 2 days later, she had symptoms of measles (e.g., rash, chills, fever, nausea, elevated temperature, and general discomfort). She returned to the doctor. The doctor did not confirm that the mother had measles, and said it was "probably a virus." Since she continued to feel ill, the mother made several other appointments with her doctor. Each time the doctor indicated that the mother had a "normal pregnancy problem" or still had the virus. But she and her husband continued to insist that something was wrong with the pregnancy.

In the 5th month of pregnancy, the nausea was not getting any better. She and her husband decided to seek the assistance of another obstetrician. They found an obstetrician in a larger city in the state who would accept her as a patient. This doctor felt that the fetus was not developing properly. He immediately prescribed treatment, which continued until the 9th month of the mother's pregnancy. During the 9th month, she continued spotting, and began to have an unusually heavy discharge. Later, she went into labor and was admitted to the hospital.

The labor lasted approximately 10 hours. When the baby, Jennifer, was born, she was underweight (approximately 5 pounds, 3 ounces). In the hospital, there was an epidemic of diarrhea; Jennifer contracted diarrhea. Doctors informed the couple that their child suffered from congenital heart failure, weak eye muscles, and that the child would not be able to leave the hospital for a length of time. As a matter of fact, the doctors gave the tiny infant only a matter of hours to live.

The mother was discharged from the hospital a short time later. Every day she and her husband traveled 45 miles each way to visit Jennifer. While in the hospital, Jennifer became addicted to the drug *Paregoric*. Jennifer gradually began to get better and was allowed to go home, but additional problems developed. She cried constantly for as many as 8 hours a day. Her diarrhea became worse as her digestive tract could not tolerate cow's milk. She was placed on a special diet, including goat's milk. Meanwhile, Jennifer developed a hernia.

Jennifer was gradually nourished back to health with the loving support of family. Friends from the church were able to help with some of the caregiving, especially that required by other children in the family (e.g., transporting them to events, picking up medication, shopping).

Jennifer's medical care included surgery for her hernia, and later when she a year old, treatment for problems with her digestive tract. At age 2, Jennifer began walking, but her speech and language skills were delayed.

When Jennifer was 3, the family moved to a larger city in another state and began to receive assistance from the county Public Health Department. The Health Department sent them to a major metropolitan hospital in the city. At the hospital, Jennifer was diagnosed as having atopic eczema and a heart condition called aortic cyanosis. By the age of 6, Jennifer had two heart catherizations. Surgery was performed to correct the heart problem. She had constant eruption and scaling of the skin. An ophthalmologist performed corrective surgery on her eyes. Later, Jennifer was diagnosed as having a cognitive disability, with an estimated IQ of about 55.

John's Story

The setting was a large, metropolitan city in a southern state. The year was 1972. Both husband and wife were teachers; he taught elementary education and she was a special education instructor. Their child, John Jr., was born approximately 2 years after they married. After the usual problems (e.g., vomiting, nausea) in the initial period of the mother's pregnancy, the remaining months were filled with a great deal of anticipation and expectation (e.g., "What shall we name him?". . . Notice the reference to "him.")

Finally, the day arrived for the birth of their baby, a beautiful 8-pound, 14-ounce, baby boy, John Jr. When the mother awoke from the anesthesia, two very special people greeted her: her husband and her mom. It was apparent that her mom was there, as she always had been in the past, to provide whatever support she could to the couple. They told the mother about her beautiful child. Yet, "and please do not ask how," [the mother] knew . . . knew that something had gone awry.

Her husband carefully took a crumbled piece of paper from his pocket. On the paper, was an S-shaped diagram that she did not understand. Her husband quietly explained to her that the pediatrician had just come from examining John. "Heart sounded fine, all 10 fingers there, 2 feet, coloring was excellent, but temperature . . ." The husband went on to say that when the pediatrician attempted to take the baby's temperature by inserting the thermometer into his rectum—well, the thermometer would not go in. When the pediatrician examined the baby more closely, he discovered that instead of having an opening in the rectum, John Jr. had a "mere dimple." (The medical term for this condition is an "imperforate anus.")

When the couple returned home from the hospital, they stood before an empty crib. Almost immediately after his birth, John Jr. was transferred to a children's hospital where he was placed in the skillful care of two pediatric surgeons. Upon examination, doctors confirmed that John Jr. did not have a sphincter muscle, and that the normal mode of body elimination was not present. The doctors performed a colostomy (the establishment of an artificial anus by making an opening into the colon) on the 1-day-old infant. Easter came and then Mother's day, and John Jr. remained in the hospital growing into a beautiful child, but a child who still had numerous physical problems.

While John Jr.'s hospital stay was a critical and, as the parents recalled, "emotionally draining experience for everyone," the strong religious orientation and beliefs of this family were critical resources in helping them cope.

Parental Concerns and Family Problems

One's culture makes a fundamental contribution in shaping one's beliefs about appropriate ways of defining what constitutes a disability and responding to it (Young & Westernoff, 1996). Beirne-Smith et al. (1998) indicated that the news of having a child with a disability may be so initially devastating that "it strikes at the heart of a family's value system, disrupting its equilibrium and causing the family unit to freeze in its developmental cycle" (p. 425). Hunt and Marshall (1999) noted that in addition to the child's exceptionality, each family has qualities and characteristics that make it unique: family configuration, family size, socioeconomic status, and cultural backgrounds.

Studies based on culturally diverse families indicate differences from culture to culture (Hunt

& Marshall, 1999). For example, in Michael Dorris's account of adopting a Native American child who had been predisposed to alcohol, Dorris indicated that in the Native American culture, difference and disability are considered a natural part of life. Beth Harry's study (1992c) of low-income Puerto Ricans parents' theories of the problems associated with a disability indicated that a broader spectrum of "mental retardation" was given, and that this group has a difficult time with school labels, such as "mental retardation." In a study of 32 low-income African mothers of children with Sickle Cell Disease, Hill (1996) found that the mothers in the study coped with the disease, in part, by "relying on the support available from both family members and formal organizations" (p. 50). In examining the ethnic and cultural dimensions of family paradigms in Native American Indians and Native Hawaiians, McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson, McCubbin, and Kaston (1993) noted that in the Aboriginal family cluster, the responsibility for caring for an individual in need of long-term care resides among members and kin, "affirming the value of all members and their contributions to the family and its members" (p. 1068). In a study of reactions of African-American, Hispanic, and White mothers to having a child with a disability, Mary (1990), revealed "long term feelings of shock, sorrow, reported more often by mothers of children with severe retardation" (p. 4).

Educators who are not parents of children with disabilities or chronic illnesses cannot know the reality of being the parent of such a child (Heward, 2000). They must fulfill nine varied and demanding roles: caregiver, provider, teacher, counselor, behavior management specialist, parent of siblings without disabilities, marriage partner, information specialist/trainer for significant others, and advocate for school and community services. Knoblock (1983), in citing research related to the dynamics of rearing a child with special needs, identified several areas of possible concern. These include, but were not limited to, problems of (a) supervision; (b) financial stress; (c) family integrity; and, (d) parental concerns about having another child. These areas are discussed below and illustrated by the experiences of the three families.

SUPERVISION

For the parents of a child with a disability, the need for supervision of the child may be a major concern. Depending on the nature and severity of the child's disability, the problem of supervision (e.g., having a responsible caretaker in attendance) may be an ever-present worry. In the three case studies presented, families shared the following concerns related to supervision:

Jennifer's parents found the problem of supervision a very real concern. Because Jennifer was ill for most of her early years, one or more of the parents had to be in attendance at all times. Even though friends were able to help at times (e.g., providing transportation, running errands), this presented some degree of emotional stress in the family because there were other children in the family to be supervised. Jennifer's mother recalled "sometimes feeling a bit overwhelmed because of the need to try and balance spending time with the other children as well."

Marcus's family found the problem of supervision not to be an overwhelming one. Both sets of grandparents and other extended family lived in the city, and they were able to help with supervision on a regular basis. Marcus's mother recalled that "both sets of grandparents appeared to develop a special bond with Marcus and they were eager to help out." John Jr. spent much of his first 2 years in the hospital, and his parents usually took turns spending the night with him until he was well enough to be at home.

When he was discharged from the hospital, the Visiting Nurses Association assisted with his care. Later on, as his health progressed, the family hired a capable sitter who took excellent care of him during the day until he was ready for preschool. During the evenings, both parents shared responsibility for providing supervision. Although John Jr. was an only child, his mother recalled "the stress and uncertainty she felt about his physical condition."

In some of the research on families of children with disabilities, mothers assumed the role of primary caregiver (Kazak & Marvin, 1984). It is significant, however, that in these African-American families, both parents functioned as caregivers for their children.

Financial Stress

Because of physical and cognitive difficulties often presented by a child with special needs, financial problems are often a primary area of concern. For the three families presented, the following concerns related to financial stress were expressed.

Jennifer's mother did not work until Jennifer was 5 years of age and had been enrolled in a special preschool class. Even when she returned to work, however, Jennifer was consistently ill, thus making regular employment for the mother difficult. Initially, the father was the primary wage earner, thus making his paycheck the major source of financial support. Finances were obviously a problem, but they never appeared to be overwhelming for this family. As Jennifer grew older, the mother began to work outside of the home, beginning as a paraprofessional, and is now a teacher of children with special needs in the district. As Jennifer's mother reflected on this situation, she recalled that her husband was an excellent provider; "often times he took on extra jobs to supplement the family income, and somehow, we always seemed to have enough."

The parents of both Marcus and John Jr. worked. No unusual financial stresses were reported for either of these two families. John Jr.'s mother was to comment years later that the "major challenge was the inordinate number of different doctor bills—ranging from specialists to general practitioners." As indicated in some of the research on families of children with disabilities, fathers, rather than mothers, were found to be most involved with financial concerns (Kazak & Marvin, 1984). However, in these African-American families, both parents were involved in providing financially for their children.

Sources of Support

Some families need to seek outside support (e.g., medical care and counseling) to care for a child with a disability. However, getting outside support may be difficult. Sometimes parents felt that the need to seek outside resources might be viewed unfavorably by some members of the extended family (Knoblock, 1983).

For Jennifer's parents, outside resources were not readily available in the small town in which Jennifer was born. However, when the family moved to a larger city, public health services were available and Jennifer's health care was, in part, furnished at a reduced cost. A support group for families of children with Down syndrome was available to Marcus's parents. This group offered both moral support and referrals to resources to the parents. Jennifer's parents received support from members of their church. They also received referrals to other community resources from local health professionals.

Parental Concerns About Having Another Child

For some parents, the birth of a child with a disability may generate mixed reactions about having additional children. Jennifer's parents had two additional children. These children were exceptionally bright, excelled in school, and completed college. Marcus had two more siblings, both of whom were enrolled in accelerated programs at local schools. John Jr.'s parents chose not to have additional children; their reasons, although not clearly articulated, were related to the time needed to care for John Jr.

In this section we have described some of the parental concerns and family challenges associated with children with disabilities, including difficulties associated with supervision, financial stress, family integrity, and parental concerns about having another child. The nature and severity of the disability had a tremendous impact on the degree of supervision the children needed. It was also clear that the two families who resided in a metropolitan city had greater access to resources that were needed for supervision (e.g., Visiting Nurses Association). Financial stressors, though present, were not overwhelming. Parental concerns about having another child were addressed in different ways; only one family chose not to have additional children. In the following section, we discuss these experiences in the context of the strengths of African-American families and the "resourcefulness of the African-American family" (McAdoo, 1997). Our discussion highlights how

these strengths are reflected in the ability of these three families to anticipate, address, interpret, manage, or successfully respond to their situation or condition.

Strengths of African-American Families

The legacy of slavery and daily encounters with racism, oppression, discrimination, and victimization result in African-American families sharing a world view that is shaped by both their historical and contemporary experiences. These common life experiences have led African-American families to develop similar adaptive behaviors, or strengths, in an effort to survive, live, and deal with problems in a perennially hostile, societal environment (Logan, Freeman, & McRoy, 1990; Martin & Martin, 1985; McAdoo, 1997).

Describing the resourcefulness of the African-American family, McAdoo (1997), reported that "a family strength, like the support system in which it operates, is any process or network of interactions that aids or helps individuals in anticipating, addressing, interpreting, managing, or otherwise successfully responding to their concrete condition or situations" (p. 89). Bromley and Longino (1972) also recognized that African Americans have "family strengths (which are) those traits that facilitate the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members and demands made upon it by systems outside the family unit" (p. 264). The importance of identifying and building upon these strengths was pointed out by Lum when he stated that

> Individuals and groups have vast, often untapped and frequently unappreciated reservoirs of physical, emotional, cognitive, interpersonal, social, and spiritual energies, resources and competencies. These are invaluable in constructing the possibility of change, transformation and hope. (1996, p. 201)

A number of benchmark works have identified the strengths of the African-American family (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1972; Nobles, 1976; Staples, 1976). The seminal work done by Hill (1972) appears to remain the standard reference for examining how some of the strengths of African-American families frequently result in their becoming a sanctuary which provides protection, support, and comfort to its members. Hill (1972, 1997) identified several strengths that have been adaptive for African-American families; three of these strengths appear to be relevant to the families in the case studies: strong kinship bonds, adaptability of family roles, and a strong religious orientation.

Strong Kinship Bonds

The strong kin support networks that exist in African-American families can be traced back to an African heritage that emphasized the importance of the extended family in tribal life (McAdoo, 1997). McAdoo noted that "in periods of crises and at times of ceremony, the extended family is most visible and provides needed support for its members" (p. 88). White (1972) observed that a number of relatives (e.g., aunts, cousins, grandmothers, older brothers and sisters) as well as nonrelatives (e.g., boyfriends, deacons, preachers, neighbors) may provide important types of caregiving when an African-American family is experiencing problems. The lines of authority, particularly related to the care of children, extend far beyond the walls of an individual household because the network of kinship is much broader than bloodlines (Billingsley, 1992; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Staples, 1994).

The presence of strong kinship bonds as a strength can be observed in each of the three case studies. Marcus's grandmother visited him in the hospital every day, and it was not unusual for her to be accompanied during her visits by other family members and friends. Both sets of grandparents helped with providing Marcus's supervision. Family members not living in the home as well as friends from work helped Jennifer's parents with some of the caregiving required by their other children. John Jr.'s grandmother was a continual source of support, assistance, and comfort for his parents.

Adaptability of Family Roles

African-American families tend to de-emphasize rigid, sex-linked roles; both men and women share

roles when dealing with household responsibilities, chores, and the care of children McAdoo (1997). An egalitarian pattern of shared decision making and performance of expected tasks to support the family usually characterize family life. African-American women have historically worked outside the home because of economic necessity (Logan et al., 1990). Therefore, husbands, children, extended family members, and even nonrelatives might be involved in providing emotional nurturance and carrying out instrumental tasks (Logan et al., 1990, p. 58).

Role flexibility can be identified as a strength in all of the case studies. Although Marcus's parents both worked, they shared responsibility for childcare, and were both involved in making financial decisions. Although Jennifer's mother did not work outside the home until Jennifer was 5 years old, one and usually both parents were always in attendance to provide care and supervision. John Jr.'s mother and father took turns spending the night with him during the 2 years that he was hospitalized. Though both parents worked, they were equally involved in providing the supervision that he required. In all of the cases, other family members (e.g., aunts, uncles, grandparents) as well as nonrelatives (e.g., coworkers, church members, neighbors) assisted the parents in performing chores, running errands, and completing other household duties.

Strong Religious Orientation

During and after slavery, religion was a sustaining and nurturing force for African Americans in their struggle to deal with the harsh realities of their social existence (McAdoo, 1997). The strong religious orientation and beliefs of African Americans ensured that there would be a higher power to which they could appeal and maintain hope that prayers would be answered. Religion became an empowering force for survival. Several researchers have described the important role that religion continues to play in the lives of African-American families (Billingsley, 1992; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Berry and Blassingame (1982) indicated that, "for most religious families who have children born with disabilities, their religion helps them to interpret the meaning of the birth of the child, facilitates their acceptance of this event, and influences their tendency to keep the child in the home" (p. 231). Correa and Heward (2000) add that the role of faith in God, more so than formal religious activities, appears to be important for families coping with a child with disabilities. In a recent study by Hughes (1999), the author concluded that, "as parents attended church, they were more likely to receive support from church members. That support leads to increased parental ability to endure" (p. 277).

In the three cases, religion seemed to be an empowering resource in helping the family members adjust to and cope with having children with disabilities. These families' strong faith in God was apparently critical in helping them to cope with their difficult times. Special prayers during church services were said for Marcus; female elders prepared and delivered meals for the family when he was in the hospital. Jennifer's parents received support from members of the church who routinely helped with errands and some other childcare needs. John Jr.'s parents were deeply religious and indicated that their beliefs played a critical role in how they responded to their child with special needs.

Hill (1972, 1997) noted that these strengths have been functional for the African-American family's survival, development, and stability. Strong kinship bonds, role flexibility, and religious beliefs are often strengths that surface during a crisis period, in this case, crisis resulting from the birth of a child with special needs. Strong kinship bonds, adaptable family roles, and a strong religious orientation were strengths in the families of Marcus, Jennifer, and John Jr. Through the church community, these children and their parents also benefited from an extended network of caring and helpful people who provided the emotional, social, and spiritual support needed for family members to develop and use effective coping and problem-solving skills. As illustrated in the cases, culture can be a very powerful force in shaping the knowledge, talents, assets, and resources families have in dealing with the challenges of parenting children with disabilities.

Discussion and Conclusion

Kazak and Marvin (1984) observed that while the birth of any child represents a point of transition for families and requires the establishment of new family roles and routines, the birth of a child with a congenital disability alters family patterns in particularly stressful ways. In this article, the experiences of three African-American teachers and their families in responding to the needs of their own children with special needs were examined. It is important to note that the reactions of these African-American families were very similar to those of many other families of children with special needs. The difference in responses, however, appears to lie in the traditional strengths exhibited in African-American households. While it is important to remember that within each of these African-American families, various family members' responses were also unique, research (Billingsley, 1992; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Daly, Jennings, Beckett, & Leashore, 1995; McAdoo, 1997; Smith, 1996) suggests that coping patterns may indeed be somewhat different for African-American families. In contrast to reports that "even religious parents of children with retardation found little guidance and comfort from their spiritual leaders" (Wolfsenberger & Kurtz, as cited in Drew, Hardman & Logan, 1996, p. 348), all three families found much comfort and guidance from their religious beliefs and spiritual leaders. As a matter of fact, the church and extended family were the major support groups.

Drew et al. (1996) also added that "mental retardation within a family unit may precipitate a theological crisis. The birth of a child with retardation can either weaken or strengthen religious beliefs, and the particular faith of the parents may affect their response to the event" (p. 350). Although in two of the cases described the individuals were classified as "mentally retarded," all three families had very strong religious beliefs, and those beliefs remained unchanged—to this day. Differences in their church affiliations—one family was Methodist, another Pentecostal, and the third Baptist—did not seem to influence the strength of their religious beliefs.

It is important to point out that all three children were born prior to the passage of the Education for All Handicapped Children's Act (1975), the forerunner of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), and Child Find procedures and systematic programs for referrals were not yet in place. When the children entered school, however, Public Law 94-142 was in effect and the parents advocated for appropriate placement of their children. Jennifer spent her entire public school years in a class for students with moderate mental retardation. Marcus's classroom was a self-contained setting for children with mild mental retardation. John Jr. spent part of the pre-K year in a general education classroom with support services for students with physical disabilities. The rest of his public school years were spent in the general education classroom.

Despite similarities in the reactions of parents, an emotional response to the birth of a child with a disability still remains an individual matter. As has been seen in the case studies presented in this article, not all parents experienced the same reactions, nor did these reactions occur with the same level of intensity. For, as Gargiulo (1985) pointed out,

> An exceptional child, regardless of whether he or she is cerebral palsied, learning disabled, or gifted, is first and foremost, a child. So, too, the family with an exceptional youngster or adolescent is first of all a family. (p. 41)

The ability of any parent, even an educator, to respond to a child with special needs is not "an easy walk." However, if a professional (e.g., teacher, social worker, health care provider) is to be of assistance in working with parents, to enhance their sense of empowerment, especially African-American parents who have children with disabilities, the professional needs to realize that before he or she can

> begin to meet the needs of families with disabled children, he/she must determine how these needs are defined by the family itself within the context of the subcultural world that shapes its daily life. (Seligman & Darling, 1989, p. 208)

Once the needs of the family, as defined by the family, are understood, the professional must be able to identify and to build on the strengths of

the parents, and other significant people. The professional must do this to shape and foster the family members' use of effective coping skills in responding to and meeting the needs of their very special children. It is important to note that this study only included two-parent families. It is equally possible that African-American single-parent families would display different coping patterns and/or experience different stresses.

The question remains: "Does having a child with special needs alter educators' interactions with their students and families?" Hallahan and Kauffman (2000) reported that some parents of children with disabilities noted they had become more tolerant of differences in other people, others reported that the birth brought families closer together, while another observed that they had become more concerned about social issues. In this study, each participant, in separate conversations, indicated that they had become more sensitive in understanding individual differences, they were far more tolerant of persons with any particular challenge, and each has become an advocate for all children.

Jennifer's sisters and brothers all assumed a major role during her developmental years (such as making sure that she caught the bus at the appropriate time, that she assumed her responsibilities/chores in the home, such as washing dishes and making her bed); Marcus's mother and father took care in treating him just as they did their other children—with respect, and having him assume his daily responsibilities in the home. His father also assumed major caregiving responsibility and he took special pride, as Marcus's mother recalls, "in taking him out on excursions, teaching him how to catch a ball, and to tie his shoe laces." Because John Jr. was an only child and the youngest grandchild, he was, as his mother remembered, "showered with attention" by his parents as well as the other family members and extended family.

Finally while these experiences may not be totally unique to these families, and some of the feelings may occur in other ethnic, cultural, or religious groups (Correa & Heward, 2000), it is hoped that these narratives may serve as a source of data for further research and practice in understanding coping patterns of African-American mothers of children with special needs.

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CHALLENGES AND CHOICES IN URBAN TEACHING: THE PERSPECTIVES OF GENERAL AND SPECIAL EDUCATORS

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study was designed to strengthen the voice of urban practitioners in the scholarly debate regarding issues in urban teaching. Interviews were conducted with urban special education teachers, general education teachers, and principals from 23 urban school districts across the country. These three groups of educators identified challenges they faced in urban teaching, as well as strategies they found useful in addressing these challenges. Rewards and opportunities in urban teaching also were shared.

The urban context is rich with challenges and opportunities. The literature is replete with factors that converge to increase the complexity of urban teaching (Cuban, 1989; Fleischner, 1993; Haberman, 1991; Juarez, 1996; Kozol, 1994). Despite the diversity of opinions and perspectives present in the literature, however, the voices of urban practitioners are not strong (Grant, 1989; Rios, 1993). The present study was undertaken to strengthen the voices of urban special education teachers, general education teachers, and principals in the professional dialogue around challenges and choices for change in urban teaching.

One of the unique characteristics of most urban settings is the level of cultural and linguistic diversity present among the students served in schools (Ornstein, 1991). According to Ornstein, the majority of students served in the 25 largest school districts in the country are from culturally diverse backgrounds. This factor underscores the prominence, in urban settings, of culturally diverse students, including those with disabilities. The urban context, then, becomes an important focus in examining issues that impact the education of culturally diverse students.

A number of general issues surround the education of culturally diverse exceptional learners in urban settings. It has been suggested that some of the challenges commonly associated with urban teaching—depressed student achievement and teacher attrition, for example—may be intensified in the area of urban special education (Fleischner, 1993; Gottlieb, Alter, Gottlieb, & Wishner, 1994). If this is the case, these challenges could have a disproportionate impact on the exceptional learners in these settings. These challenges, along with others associated with urban teaching, are further explicated below and discussed in terms of implications for special education. Options for positive change that have been presented in the literature on urban teaching are also summarized.

CHALLENGES FACING URBAN EDUCATION

A number of factors associated with student characteristics or behaviors have been cited in the literature as challenges in urban teaching. These factors include academic underachievement (Cotton, 1991; Kretovics, Farber, & Armaline, 1991; Ornstein, 1991); depressed motivation for school success (Grossman, 1995); high dropout and transiency rates or below average attendance rates (Cotton, 1991; Grossman, 1995; Kretovics et al.; Stephen, Varble, & Taitt, 1993); discipline problems (Kretovics et al.); and substance abuse, school violence, and teen pregnancy (Elam, Rose, & Gallup, 1994). In terms of urban special educa-

tion populations, there is evidence that suggests some of these areas of difficulty, such as depressed academic achievement and school dropout rates, may be exacerbated (Gottlieb et al., 1994). On this issue, Gottlieb et al. stated, "We can expect special education to continue receiving the most impaired of an increasingly troubled population" (p. 464).

In addition to characteristics or behaviors of students themselves, others have framed challenges in urban teaching in terms of issues associated with students' communities and home environments (Cotton, 1991; Gottlieb et al., 1994). According to Williams and Williamson (1992), "The urban child characteristically lives in a context that is epitomized by poverty, violence, drugs, gangs, and an unstable family life" (p. 9). Additionally, home-school relationships in urban areas have been characterized as particularly strained, and a paucity of parental involvement in schools has been noted (Cotton, 1991). Lack of parental involvement in special education can be particularly devastating since it largely has been through parental advocacy that services were established for students with disabilities, and it is largely through parental advocacy that inequitable practices are challenged. Special education programs in urban areas, then, may be particularly at risk where paucity of parental involvement is evident.

Challenges in urban teaching also have been framed in terms of urban school personnel. For example, teacher burnout, high teacher attrition rates, and teacher reluctance and/or unpreparedness to teach in urban areas have been cited as problematic in many urban districts (Brown & Hunter, 1998; Gomez, 1993; Grant, 1989; Obiakor, Algozzine, & Ford, 1993). For urban special educators, issues such as teacher burnout and high teacher attrition rates are particularly critical (Fleischner, 1993). Negative teacher attitudes and expectations toward urban minority students also have been noted by a number of researchers (Gomez, 1993; Grant, 1989; Grossman, 1995; Stephen et al., 1993; Williams & Williamson, 1992). Additionally, perceived cultural incongruence between teachers and students, as well as between teachers and parents, has been cited as problematic in urban schools (Gomez, 1993; Grossman, 1995, 1998).

School structure and curriculum are other facets of the school environment that have received attention. The curriculum content and materials, as well as instructional methodology said to be characteristic of urban schools, have been viewed as inappropriate for and unresponsive to the needs of urban learners (Banks, 1993; Haberman, 1991; Kretovics et al., 1991). The typical structure of urban schools also has been criticized for perceived inability to accommodate student diversity (Cuban, 1989). Substandard buildings and inadequate equipment and supplies have been cited, too, as characteristics of urban school districts (Kozol, 1991, 1994; Williams & Williamson, 1992).

Alternatives for Positive Change in Urban Settings

Despite the barrage of challenges cited in the literature relative to urban teaching, many alternatives have been proposed as a means of addressing perceived challenges. Some of these strategies focus on the classroom learning environment. For example, increased efforts at individualization, basing instruction on real-life activities, using smaller class sizes, and using a multicultural approach to instruction have been suggested as ways to accommodate the needs of diverse urban learners (Banks, 1993; Cotton, 1991; Grant, 1989; Haberman, 1991; Juarez, 1996; Kea & Utley, 1998; Stephen et al., 1993; Voltz & Damiano-Lantz, 1993). Interestingly, an emphasis on basic skills, standardized testing to measure basic skill achievement, and more stringent disciplinary codes have been recommended as well. Many researchers and practitioners have taken issue, however, with the "back to the basics" movement and the increased use of standardized testing (Banks; Grant; Stephen et al.).

Another approach focuses on changing the teaching population itself. This could include modifying preservice and inservice teacher preparation, to prepare teachers better for urban settings (Gomez, 1993), and recruiting more minority teachers (Cotton, 1991; Villegas & Clewell, 1998). Financial solutions also have been proposed as a means of addressing some of the chal-

lenges of urban teaching. For example, increased funding for program development, materials, equipment, and physical structures has been recommended (Banks, 1993; Kozol, 1994). Additionally, some proposed structural changes in schools, such as reducing class size, can have significant financial ramifications (Achilles, 1996).

A great diversity of perspectives exists in the literature relative to challenges in urban teaching and choices for positive change. Few of those perspectives seem to reflect voices of teachers and administrators who work in urban settings on a daily basis. Through interview methodology, the present study sought to strengthen the voices of urban special education teachers, general education teachers, and principals on issues related to urban teaching and learning.

METHOD

SAMPLE

Forty-five educators selected from 23 urban school districts across the country participated in this study. These 45 educators included 15 general education teachers, 15 special education teachers, and 15 principals. The 23 participating districts, listed in Table 1, were selected to represent various geographic regions of the country. Participants within these districts were recruited by letters sent to special education teachers, general education teachers, and principals in 345 randomly selected elementary, middle, and high schools within the 23 districts. Of the 173 teachers and principals who consented to be interviewed, 45 were selected. A stratified random sampling procedure was used to produce equal numbers of general education teachers, special education teachers, and principals, and to produce balance across the three groups in terms of geographic region. Demographic information for participants is listed in Table 1.

PROCEDURE

Telephone interviews of approximately 40 minutes were conducted with each of the 45 participants. The semistructured interviews focused on six open-ended questions:

1. What unique aspects, if any, exist in terms of teaching (or being an administrator) in urban versus nonurban schools?
2. What do you find most challenging about teaching (or being an administrator) in an urban school?
3. How do you cope with this challenge?
4. What do you find most rewarding about teaching (or being an administrator) in an urban school?
5. What special skills or characteristics, if any, do you think teachers (or administrators) should possess in order to be effective urban teachers (or administrators)?
6. Do you have any additional comments regarding issues related to urban teaching?

Each respondent was asked the above questions in the order listed.

The content and format of the questions used in this study were developed with assistance from a panel of expert reviewers composed of 10 urban general and special education teachers, administrators, and teacher educators from the southern, eastern, and midwestern regions of the United States. The original list of questions reviewed by the panel was changed in several ways: the number of questions was reduced from 10 to 6; and wording of the questions was changed to enhance content validity, clarity, and reduce bias. Once refined, the questions were field-tested with a group of 15 urban general and special education teachers and principals. No changes occurred to the questions as a result of the field test, however a list of helpful prompts to be used with each question was developed during the field test procedure. The data collected from the field test were not used in the final data analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

The responses of participants were recorded and transcribed. After the transcription process was complete, a content analysis procedure was conducted (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Transcripts of

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHICS FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

	% *Sp. Ed.*	% *Gen. Ed.*	% *Prin.*
Sex			
Female	93.3	93.3	40.0
Male	6.7	6.7	60.0
Race			
White	60.0	73.3	53.3
African American	33.3	20.0	33.3
Hispanic	6.7	0.0	6.7
Asian	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	6.7	6.7
Education Level			
BA/BS	40.0	33.3	0.0
MA/MS	53.3	66.7	80.0
EdS	6.7	0.0	6.7
EdD/PhD	0.0	0.0	13.3
Grade Level			
Elementary	40.0	53.3	60.0
Middle School	20.0	20.0	20.0
High School	40.0	26.7	20.0
Years Experience in Urban Education			
0–3	6.7	0.0	0.0
4–6	33.3	26.7	0.0
7–10	26.7	6.7	0.0
11–15	13.3	13.3	20.0
16–20	6.6	26.7	13.3
Over 20	13.3	26.7	66.7

	% *Sp. Ed.*	% *Gen. Ed.*	% *Prin.*
School District			
Albuquerque	6.7	0.0	6.7
Atlanta	6.7	0.0	0.0
Chicago	6.7	6.7	6.7
Cleveland	0.0	6.7	6.7
Columbus, OH	6.7	6.7	0.0
Dallas	0.0	6.7	6.7
Denver	0.0	6.7	0.0
Detroit	6.7	6.7	6.7
Fort Worth	0.0	0.0	6.7
Fresno	6.7	0.0	6.7
Houston	0.0	6.7	6.7
Los Angeles	0.0	6.7	6.7
Memphis	6.7	0.0	6.7
Miami	6.7	6.7	0.0
Milwaukee	6.7	6.7	0.0
Mobile, AL	0.0	0.0	6.7
Nashville	6.7	6.7	0.0
New Orleans	6.7	6.7	6.7
New York	6.7	6.7	0.0
Philadelphia	6.7	0.0	6.7
San Antonio	6.7	6.7	6.7
San Diego	0.0	6.7	0.0
Washington, DC	6.7	0.0	6.7

interviews were analyzed to determine major themes and subthemes that emerged across and within responses to interview questions. Transcripts were then coded and responses were categorized based on the emergent themes. Percentages were computed of respondents who made statements consistent with each of the various themes. Percentages do not total 100 since respondents may have made numerous statements, each consistent with different themes, in response to a single question.

RESULTS

The interview data were collapsed into six categories related to urban teaching: (a) uniqueness in urban teaching, (b) challenges in urban teaching,

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Category	*Group*	*% Indicating Responses Related to Students*	*Families*	*Communities*	*Schools*
1. Uniquenesses in urban teaching	S	60.0	33.3	13.3	33.3
	G	66.7	26.7	6.7	33.3
	P	66.7	40.0	40.0	33.3
2. Greatest challenges	S	73.3	13.3	6.7	40.0
	G	60.0	6.7	6.7	26.7
	P	33.3	26.7	0.0	53.3
3. Coping strategies	S	26.7	20.0	0.0	60.0
	G	6.7	26.7	6.7	73.3
	P	13.3	46.7	13.3	66.7
4 Greatest rewards	S	100.0	13.3	0.0	6.7
	G	80.0	6.7	6.7	6.7
	P	73.3	6.7	0.0	26.7
5. Teacher skills or characteristics needed for success	S	26.7	20.0	13.3	60.0
	G	40.0	0.0	20.0	26.7
	P	6.7	13.3	6.7	46.7
6. Additional comments	S	6.7	13.3	40.0	73.3
	G	13.3	13.3	60.0	60.0

Note: S = Special educators; G = General educators; P = Principals

(c) coping strategies, (d) rewards in urban teaching, (e) special skills or characteristics needed in urban teaching, and (f) other comments. Within each of these categories, themes and subthemes emerged. The responses of educators in each of these categories are summarized in Table 2.

Uniqueness in Urban Teaching

The majority of the educators interviewed reported that they had taught in both urban and nonurban settings. When asked what they saw as the unique aspects of teaching in urban schools, most educators mentioned factors related to students with whom they worked. Although student characteristics were most often cited as sources of uniqueness, factors related to students' families and to urban schools themselves also were cited as unique factors in urban teaching.

Students. The majority of general education teachers (67%), special education teachers (60%), and principals (67%) cited factors related to students as being unique aspects of urban teaching. Student characteristics mentioned included items such as the high level of student learning and cultural diversity in urban schools. A general education teacher reported, "The children are different—their backgrounds—families—environment—knowledge they come with—values they have." Other items included perceived nonacademic

needs of students. As noted by a principal, "The needs are unique. There is more need for social services—need to provide things like meals, health care." Depressed socioeconomic status of students, low attendance/transiency, and student anger/despair also were mentioned. A principal noted, "There is a lot of violence and rage in the children." In regard to student anger, a special education teacher explained, "Students' anger has been caused by drugs, hunger, poverty, children raising children."

Families. Some general education teachers (27%), special education teachers (33%), and principals (40%) cited items related to students' families as being unique aspects of urban teaching. These items included paucity of parental support, differences in family structure (e.g., more single-parent families), and parental drug abuse. A principal summed up the sentiment in this area: "Parental involvement in students' education is very, very low."

Schools. Uniquenesses related to urban schools themselves were cited by 33% of special and general education teachers, as well as 33% of principals. The most commonly cited aspect was large school size. On this note, a general education teacher reported, "Urban schools are more anonymous. No one knows each other. They're too big."

Challenges in Urban Teaching

When asked what they found as most challenging about teaching in an urban school, the majority of the two teacher groups again noted factors related to students with whom they worked. Some teachers and principals also noted factors related to students' families and to urban schools themselves.

Students. The majority of special education teachers (60%) and general education teachers (73%), and some principals (33%) cited factors related to the students with whom they worked. These factors included items such as student diversity and cultural differences. For example, a special education teacher responded:

> Ninety-nine percent of my students are Black and I'm White. I'm trying to understand them and they're trying to understand me. I'm not really a part of their culture. They know I'm trying to understand what's going on. I've grown up in the suburbs. There are differences here. We're trying to bridge that gap.

Other unique student characteristics cited included depressed student motivation, student anger and despair, and lack of preparedness for learning. In the words of a special education teacher, "Kids are fighting to survive. There is an overwhelming sense of despair."

Families. Some special education teachers (13%), general education teachers (7%), and principals (27%) cited challenges associated with students' families. The most commonly cited challenges in this area were related to collaborating with parents. A general education teacher commented: "I deal with parents on crack. Some with an educational level of ninth grade. They don't value education. To get them involved is a real challenge. The parents come from a totally different social background."

Schools. Some special education teachers (40%) and general education teachers (27%), as well as the majority of principals (53%) also cited items related to urban schools themselves as major challenges. One of these items was the issue of funding and resources. A special education teacher cited as a major challenge, "Money. The funding crunch. Districts are unequally funded—some are rich, others are poor." Some principals also cited working with the staff as a major challenge: "People are assigned who may or may not want to be there. It is difficult to motivate the staff to take ownership of the school and its product—which is the students." Curricular and instructional issues were also mentioned. A principal noted as a challenge "Instructional delivery by teachers. They must use different kinds of strategies to reach students and get them motivated."

Coping Strategies

When asked how they coped with their greatest challenges, the majority of educators interviewed

cited school-based interventions, including various instructional strategies and collaboration with their colleagues. Some educators also mentioned strategies related to working with parents.

School-based interventions. Many special education teachers (60%), general education teachers (73%), and principals (67%) indicated school-based interventions as a means of coping with their greatest challenges. These interventions included strategies such as making instruction more relevant or interesting to students. For example, a special education teacher reported that she tries "to get input on what they want to learn. Help them with what they want to do." A general education teacher also noted the importance of "finding ways to keep learning fun and enjoyable." Counseling and talking with students were additional suggestions. For example, a special education teacher reported the need to "Talk with the kids about the future. Give reasons why they need to learn a particular skill. Relate school to future goals like high school graduation." Using a firm style of behavior management also was recommended. A special education teacher noted the need for, "Following through on the behavior plan. Sticking by the rules." Peer-mediated learning formats were an additional recommendation. A general education teacher reported using "Lots of cooperative group teaching." Collaborating with other staff members also was cited as a strategy for problem-solving. A special education teacher noted the need to "talk with co-workers about problems." A principal indicated the importance of "having open communication with the staff—having staff input with the decisions."

Parent-related strategies. A number of special education teachers (27%), general education teachers (27%), and principals (47%) cited establishing effective partnerships with parents as a means of coping with challenges they faced. For example, a general education teacher reported, "We do home visits. I give appreciation certificates to parents for things they have done throughout the year. I make good calls—so all contacts are not negative."

Rewards in Urban Teaching

When asked what they found most rewarding about teaching (or being an administrator) in an urban school, the majority of special education teachers (100%) and general education teachers (80%), as well as principals (73%) cited factors related to the students they serve. These factors included the opportunity to establish positive student attitudes, working where they felt most needed/appreciated, and seeing student progress. For example, a general education teacher reported, "There are a lot of rewards. Seeing that students really understand—seeing that I have made a change." A special education teacher found her greatest reward to be:

> Helping students feel good about themselves. Giving students a sense of self-worth so that others' attitudes can't take them apart—having the opportunity to be a person who can dispel the idea in students' minds that all Whites are racist and don't care.

A general education teacher commented, "I wanted to teach where I was most needed. Anyone can teach kids from middle-class families. Teaching at-risk students is harder. It takes a special talent. I have that talent."

Characteristics and Skills Needed in Urban Teaching

When asked what special skills or characteristics, if any, teachers (or administrators) should possess in order to be effective urban teachers (or administrators), the majority of all three groups of educators mentioned attitudes, dispositions, and beliefs they felt would promote success in urban settings. Many educators also mentioned certain knowledge and skills they believed to be requisite to success in urban schools. The majority of special education teachers (87%) and general education teachers (67%) mentioned attitudes or skills related to students and schools (teaching). Principals (60%) were more likely to mention attitudes or skills related to schools and families.

Attitudes/dispositions/beliefs. These factors included patience/understanding, perseverance/

toughness, a caring attitude, tolerance/respect for differences, flexibility, and vision/expectations. A special education teacher reported the need to "Accept children for who they are and give them the opportunity to be who they are." A general education teacher noted the need for "Willingness to change your views versus changing theirs." The notion of perseverance/toughness was highlighted by a principal: "You need a mad dog mentality. You must be able to accept the responsibility—There are no excuses. . . . You need a mental toughness—-Refuse to accept less than excellence." Of the three groups, however, only principals were among those indicating a need for vision/expectations: "You must have high expectations—even though kids come with a lot of problems. If you think they will do well, then many will."

Knowledge/skills. Requisite knowledge and skills mentioned included items such as understanding cultural diversity and the dynamics of the urban setting. On this issue, a general education teacher made the following statement:

> You need to know the language. I didn't come from a middle class background—so I fit right in with my kids—but most of my colleagues—Black and White—come from the middle class—and they are totally shocked. . . . They are not used to the anger kids come with. The kids may cope with anger differently. Some [teachers] are not trained to deal with that kind of anger and rage.

Likewise, an elementary special education teacher reported, "You need to be able to have skills with multicultural children—how to deal with kids out of your own social class." A principal also noted, "You must be knowledgeable about the dynamics of urban settings . . . social problems, diversity—You must know about the cultures of students—You must know how to deal with problems that arise with staff because of the urban setting."

Other requisite skills also were cited by educators interviewed. Special educators, as a group, were more likely to mention the use of behavior management strategies. Special education teachers and principals also often cited effective interpersonal skills as requisite. According to a special education teacher, "You need counseling skills. You need to be an effective listener." Several principals also mentioned the need for skill in creative financing: "You need to be a magician with the money. You have to be almost ready to counterfeit." Finally, a number of educators, primarily general education teachers, mentioned the ability to use a wide array of teaching methods. For example, a general education teacher reported, "You must have knowledge of many teaching techniques. If one thing doesn't work, then you can try something else."

Additional Comments

When asked for additional comments, many of the educators interviewed mentioned factors related to urban schools and school personnel. Many educators also noted factors associated with the larger community, external to schools in which they worked.

Schools. A majority of special education teachers (73%) and general education teachers (60%), as well as some principals (40%) made comments related to schools and school personnel. Curricular/instructional issues were commonly mentioned, predominately by special education teachers, among the items related to schools and school personnel. For example, a special education teacher responded, "Look at the curriculum. We're trying to come up with a traditional curriculum for nontraditional students." These comments were very similar to other comments made in regard to challenges in urban teaching and requisite skills needed for success.

The two teacher groups again raised funding issues. A general education teacher asserted, "We need more money. We need to find a fair way to change how local systems are financed where it's more equal . . . . Money should be paid into one statewide pot and then distributed." Again, these comments were similar to those noted earlier as challenges in urban teaching. An atmosphere of school violence was noted by several special education teachers: "We have policemen on every floor. We're faced with fights before you even get

into the school . . . . No recess at school and no playtime at home because it's not safe. It's not normal." General education teachers and principals were less likely to raise these issues.

All three groups of educators noted elements related to teacher burnout or disempowerment. In the words of a special education teacher: "Teachers are worn out because we're fighting the system. Good teachers are worn out—leaving . . . . We're fighting all of the time. It takes everything out of you to stay up." Other statements made by a minority of educators in response to prior interview questions also reflected aspects of burnout or disempowerment. For example, when discussing his greatest challenges, a principal acknowledged, "I do have some teachers who are burned out—not working up to potential." Likewise, when asked how she coped with her greatest challenges, a special education teacher who worked with visually impaired students commented, "I left mild/moderate disabilities because of burnout—kids who did not learn—behavior problems—so I could work with kids who are easier to teach and fewer in number. That's how I coped." When asked what she saw as the greatest rewards of urban teaching, the same teacher responded, "I have a hard time saying that there is anything rewarding." Similarly, when asked how he coped with his greatest challenges, a principal responded, "You can't meet these challenges. There are no strategies. I wish I knew." The same principal, when asked about the rewards of working in an urban setting, responded, "Nothing in particular." These responses suggest an element of burnout, but were not characteristic responses of educators interviewed.

Larger community. Some special education teachers (40%), general education teachers (60%), and principals (53%) mentioned factors related to the larger society, external to the schools in which they worked. Some educators mentioned what they saw as nonfacilitating societal views and attitudes. For example, a principal noted, "Low socioeconomic status (SES) students have been viewed as a 'handicap' to the nation. This is unfortunate because they offer diversity, which is a resource. If we have the right expectations, they can achieve."

Issues related to teacher preparation also were voiced by several educators. According to a special education teacher, "Universities really need to make students aware of cultural differences. Most new teachers, whether they planned on it or not, end up in urban settings and are not prepared." Likewise, a general education teacher reported, "I came from a small, rural town. When I first started teaching in an urban school, it was a culture shock. We never had urban experiences in our teacher preparation program. Preservice teachers need exposure to urban schools." These comments were similar to others made previously regarding requisite knowledge and skills for success in urban settings.

Overarching Themes in Urban Settings

A number of issues surfaced and resurfaced across the three groups of educators and across the questions asked during the interviews. These issues seemed to have been the most critical in the minds of the educators interviewed. Dominant among these issues were student diversity, curricular and instructional issues, and parental involvement. Table 3 quantifies the comments of educators in these areas.

Student Diversity

Student diversity was a recurring theme in the responses of educators interviewed. At some point during the interview, 67% of special education teachers, 60% of general education teachers, and 40% of principals noted issues related to student diversity. These educators conceptualized diversity not only from the standpoint of ethnic or cultural diversity, but also differences in socioeconomic status, as well as variance in learning styles and abilities. The occurrence of the diversity theme in comments of educators interviewed implies the need for sensitivity to and an understanding of diversity, in all its various forms, as well as the ability to create educational environments that embrace a broad spectrum of human differences (Grossman, 1998; Obiakor, 1994, 1999).

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES FOR OVERARCHING THEMES

	Percentage Making Related Statements		
Theme	*Sp. Ed.*	*Gen. Ed.*	*Prin.*
Student Diversity	67.7	60.0	40.0
Curricular and Instructional Issues	60.0	67.7	33.3
Parent Involvement	67.7	33.3	40.0

While the concept of student diversity was viewed, in most instances, as a challenge, a special education teacher, two general education teachers, and two principals saw student diversity as an opportunity or reward. For example, when asked about the rewards of urban teaching, a special education teacher responded, "the opportunity to learn about kids I was not raised with." A general education teacher indicated, "the opportunity to work with more ranges of ability." In these cases, it appears that student diversity was seen as an opportunity. While the literature on urban teaching is replete with challenges associated with student diversity, relatively little has been said regarding perceived opportunities associated with student diversity, or the extent to which educators view student diversity as an opportunity. This is an area that merits further exploration.

Curricular and Instructional Issues

Most of the educators interviewed in this study seemed to have had an awareness of the integral role curricular and instructional issues play in the dynamics of urban schools. At some point during the interview, the majority of special education teachers (60%) and general education teachers (67%), as well as some principals (33%) mentioned issues regarding what and how students were taught. Concerns were voiced by these educators regarding the relationship of the characteristics, interests, and perceptions of urban students to the focus and nature of instruction in urban schools. According to a high school special education teacher, "Topics taught in school are not relevant to students' real lives." Likewise, a special education middle school teacher asserted, "The way reading is being taught is outmoded—rote and boring. . . . Traditional methods won't work."

Similar concerns regarding the appropriateness of curriculum and instruction in urban schools are evident in the literature on urban teaching (Banks, 1993; Grant, 1989; Kretovics et al, 1991; Stephen et al., 1993). However, the awareness of urban educators themselves of this issue, or the inclination of urban educators to address it, is not as evident in the literature. In some cases, urban educators are characterized as being consumed with issues of discipline and control to the exclusion of other curricular or instructional issues—or so overwhelmed by the day-to-day challenges of urban teaching that they are unable to critically examine the educational systems of which they are a part (Grant; Haberman, 1991). The majority of the educators interviewed in this study did not fit this profile.

Parental Involvement/Support of Education

Parental involvement in the education of their children was a commonly mentioned issue in the comments of the educators interviewed. At some point during the interview, 67% of special educa-

tion teachers, 33% of general education teachers, and 40% of principals mentioned issues related to what they viewed as inadequate parental involvement. Many of these educators seemed to have felt that parents didn't value education, or were not concerned about the academic achievement of their children. This view is reflected in a comment of a general education teacher: "It's more important to parents to buy a pack of cigarettes than it is to buy books." Some educators also alluded to what they perceived as negative parental perceptions of school and/or school personnel. A general education teacher noted, "Parents go through a lot of steps before they trust and believe teachers." These statements imply that the relationship between schools and urban parents may be strained, perhaps due in part to the lack of mutual trust and respect requisite to successful collaborative partnerships. If this is the case, educators must be prepared to take the first step in establishing the requisite trust and respect (Harry, 1995; Prater & Tanner, 1995). This may involve, in the words of a special education teacher, "being reality based—not expecting everybody to hold the same values."

Difficulty in establishing and maintaining appropriate home-school partnerships is well documented in the literature on urban teaching (Brown & Hunter, 1998; Harry, 1995; Prater & Tanner, 1995). In this regard, the perspectives of the majority of educators interviewed were not unique. There were, however, a minority of educators (20%) who seemed to have felt that issues regarding parent involvement and home environments were overemphasized or unproductively dwelt upon in urban teaching. One principal spoke out on this issue: "I don't believe in all that single-parent home, drug-infested neighborhood stuff. I see this as an opportunity, not a weakness. You have to take the kids where they are." A special education teacher also commented, "We've used the 'poor home environment' as a crutch." These comments, taken together with those above, suggest that while every effort should be made to forge effective partnerships with parents, the perceived lack of such relationships should not be used as a scapegoat for all educational ills, nor serve to paralyze efforts to improve urban education (Obiakor, 1993, 1994).

Implications for Special Education

In reviewing the findings of this study, a number of possible implications for the field of special education emerge. One such implication lies in a recurring theme in the comments of the educators—paucity of parent involvement in education. While parental involvement is critical in the education of all students, it is particularly so in the education of students with disabilities. Parents play an integral role in eligibility determination, placement decisions, and IEP development for students with disabilities. The integrity of these special education procedures is dependent upon input from parents. Without it the efficacy of the special education program is compromised (see Harry, 1995; Prater & Tanner, 1995).

Another important aspect to be considered in terms of parental involvement is the role parents of students with disabilities have played in lobbying for appropriate educational services for their children. This role has been discussed above. It follows, then, that without appropriate "parent power," students with disabilities in urban settings may be particularly vulnerable to inappropriate practices. This idea was alluded to in a comment made by a special education teacher in this study. When asked about what she saw as rewards in urban teaching, one of her responses was "less pressure from parents because they are not involved." This comment highlights the potential dangers inherent in inadequate parent participation in the education of students with disabilities.

On a more positive note, most of the educators interviewed expressed cognizance of and respect for the range of diversity present in their classrooms. Perhaps, because of this level of diversity, many of these teachers reported using multidimensional pedagogical approaches that are helpful in accommodating diverse student needs (i.e., peer mediated learning formats, hands-on activities, gearing instruction to individual interests or needs, and accommodating varying learning styles). These same approaches may enhance the success of students with disabilities in general education classrooms. The notion of individualization—one of the basic tenets of special education—was specifically mentioned by several general educa-

tion teachers interviewed. One of these teachers commented: "Urban teachers must have the talent of seeing individual needs and finding the magic to meet those needs." Another general education teacher noted of urban students: "They need more individualization." If the nature of instruction in urban classrooms, as well as the mindsets of teachers, is aligned to accommodate student diversity, the inclusion of students with disabilities may be facilitated.

Despite the possible positive impact that diversity of urban settings may have on inclusion of students with disabilities, other factors associated with urban settings may have a more deleterious effect. Large class size was a factor noted by several of the educators interviewed. According to a general education teacher, "Class size is one of the most important things. It's hard to give a child what they need with 30 or more kids in a class." If urban schools tend to have larger class sizes, this factor could have a negative impact on the inclusion of students with disabilities in urban settings.

When looking across the three groups of educators interviewed in this study, it becomes apparent that some areas of challenge seem to have been particularly critical for the special educators interviewed. One of these areas is discipline and school violence. During the course of the interview, relatively few general education teachers (27%) and principals (33%) mentioned factors related to discipline and school violence; however, the majority (67%) of special education teachers did. This same pattern is evident in other areas, such as paucity of parent involvement (mentioned by 33% of general education teachers, 40% of principals, and 67% of special education teachers), and negative student attitudes/affect—such as anger, despair, and apathy (mentioned by 27% of general education teachers and principals, and 53% of special education teachers). This implies that, for the special education teachers interviewed, some of the challenges associated with urban teaching may indeed be more intense for them than for their colleagues in general education classes. According to one of the special education teachers interviewed, these issues are "more of a problem in special education."

Conclusion

This study was designed to strengthen the voice of urban practitioners in the dialogue around challenges and choices for change in urban teaching. Given the qualitative nature of the study, it was not designed to broadly generalize the findings to all urban educators. However, the perspectives shared by the participating educators suggest that the urban context is a very dynamic one filled with challenges and opportunities. Many of the comments made by educators interviewed mirror dominant themes in the literature. Other comments, however, such as those regarding opportunities and rewards in urban teaching are not as strongly reflected in the literature, and may provide direction for further investigation. By providing a forum for multiple perspectives to be voiced, a fuller understanding of the dynamics of urban teaching can be achieved and enhanced.

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IN THE ORAL TRADITION. . .

EFFECTIVE PROVISION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES TO LATINO-AMERICAN CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS AND GIFTS

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This section of Multiple Voices *capitalizes on the oral tradition common to many cultures. In this tradition, history and cultural values are transmitted from one generation to another by word of mouth. In some cultures a specific person carries the responsibility of learning and telling the history of people. This is the fourth and final article in this series.*

"In the Oral Tradition" presents interviews with eminent scholars and community leaders in the education of culturally and linguistically diverse exceptional learners. These "elders" of the education community share their perspectives and prognostications on pertinent issues. The "elders" interviewed for this article are two Latina women who are leaders in the field of special education.

Helen Bessent Byrd, Professor, Special Education Department, Norfolk State University, Norfolk, Virginia, the feature editor, conducted the interviews. The interviewees are: Alba Ortiz, Associate Dean and Hinojosa Professor in the School of Education at the University of Texas at Austin, and past president of CEC; and Elba Maldonado-Colon, Professor of Education, San Jose State University and current president of DDEL.

Byrd: The terms "Hispanic American," "Latino American," and others have been used to refer to your people. By what name would you like to be called?

Ortiz: I prefer to be called Mexican American as it communicates my origin, but I use both Hispanic and Latino. I try to do what you're doing—ask people what their preference is, or use the term which is typical in a given geographic area.

Maldonado-Colon: I want to be known as who I am, a Puerto Rican and very proud of it. One who has made significant contributions to the education of *all* learners, not just of Hispanic/Latino ancestry, in spite of continuing to identify myself as Puerto Rican not American. To some of my students, the term Hispanic is offensive because of historical and oppressive connotations, thus they want to be called Latino or Latina when you refer to them. For them Latino/a connotes solidarity, unity, opportunity, and advancement toward a better future. The point, to me, is not what you call people but that people try to understand the perspective you represent, and respect must be linked to action. It involves action as well as a verbal indication. Not just words.

Byrd: Are you bilingual? If so, how and when did you become bilingual? What issues of language impact the education of Latino-American children today?

Maldonado-Colon: Yes, I am bilingual. But, I did not grow up bilingual, nor in the mainland U.S.A. Until I was in seventh grade, I did not consider

myself to be bilingual. I grew up in a home where only Spanish was spoken, yet both of my parents were fluent in English since they had to use it daily in their professions. In school, I did receive the required 30–45 minutes of English as I grew up in a totally Spanish-speaking world. By the time I developed a strong base in literacy and content through the native language, and linguistic and literacy knowledge in English, I was in high school. Then, my instruction shifted to 1 hour of instruction in Spanish grammar and literature, and the remainder of the day (subjects) in English. In college, at the Universidad de Puerto Rico campus, I was able to select both, courses taught in Spanish and courses taught in English. This enabled me to develop not only content and literacy skills through both languages, but to maintain high language and literacy proficiency. Through graduate school, I exerted both options, too. Such an approach has enabled me to develop and retain both, and add a third language, French.

The issues that impact Latino children concerning language, to my understanding, begin with the automatic devaluation of what they bring to school—their language and culture. Co-existing with these negative aspects is lack of appropriate and effective support systems. The resulting erosion of the self-image is not something to be taken lightly, particularly with what research is telling us about its effects on learners. I came to the mainland with a very strong and well-developed self-image which enabled me to deal in very definite and clear terms with all those who on one occasion or another, upon hearing me speak Spanish with friends, have articulated that I should go back where I came from if I could not speak English here.

Another issue that has impact on children's potential for success and progress is consistency. Many children are enrolled in and out of bilingual programs or programs offering support for English language development, depending on arbitrary decisions made by poorly informed or biased parents, teachers, or administrators. Equally damaging is the poor quality of SOME of the bilingual program options available to children. There are classrooms identified as bilingual where teachers have signed district waivers promising to become bilingual, meanwhile instruction that is supposed to be carried in the native language is questionable since the instructor just has incipient knowledge of the vehicle of instruction.

Another practice related to limitations of the system of delivery is the one that if the child needs services in the native language but the services are not available in the district, the IEP or IFSP does not reflect this need. Thus, the child continues to be instructed in a language through which he or she is barely capable of negotiating meaning. Eventually, such practice results in further limitations to the development of a broad knowledge base critical to academic success and advancement.

Ortiz: I speak Spanish and English. I learned Spanish as a first language at home because my mother does not speak English. My parents had a rule that we only spoke Spanish at home out of respect for my mother. I was in the third grade before I realized that my dad spoke English fluently. He called home one day and I answered the phone. When he asked, in English, whether he could speak to my mother, I apologized to him, saying, "I'm sorry, sir, but my mother doesn't speak English." He laughed and said, "That's okay mi'ja. This is your dad." I was floored. Over the years, my brothers and sisters and I spoke English when we didn't want our parents to know what we were saying. We were always mystified as to how they managed to figure out what we were up to. My dad's phone call gave me some insight into the matter. Years later, when I became involved in the bilingual education field, I came to understand that, while my mother does not speak English, she does understand it. So we couldn't pull a fast one on either of my parents.

The language issue that most impacts Latino children is that too many educators believe that speaking Spanish as a first language is a deficit. Consequently, educational programs reflect a "subtractive" orientation toward Spanish, limiting its use and denying students the benefits of bilingualism. This is somewhat surprising since most educators and the general public support foreign language programs for native English speakers and most colleges require students demonstrate competence or courses in a foreign language to earn a degree. Unfortunately, too many Hispanic students lose their Spanish but they also fail to

become proficient in English because teachers do not have the training or skills needed to support English as a second language development. Our failure to produce competent language users, regardless of whether that proficiency is in English or Spanish, is one of the major contributors to the widespread underachievement of Hispanics. It may well explain why English Language Learners are disproportionately represented in programs for students with communication disorders or learning disabilities.

In special education, there is a common misconception that Latinos who have problems in their native language should be taught in English so they will not be confused by instruction in two languages. That is an example of a well-intentioned, but misguided, practice. If the child were a native English speaker and had a communication disorder, we wouldn't dream of telling his parents that we are going to forget English instruction and try teaching him German instead because their child has been unable to learn English. Yet we think nothing of doing that to Spanish speakers with disabilities. If they haven't learned the language of their parents, I doubt they will have a lot of success learning the language of strangers. So, a lack of understanding of second language acquisition and of the role of the native language in the acquisition of English has a major, negative impact on the education of Hispanic students.

Byrd: Are there ample safeguards in IDEA to ensure effective services to Latino students? If so, what are they? If not, what recommendations would you make?

Ortiz: There are ample safeguards in IDEA to ensure effective services for Latino students. The most important are the requirements for (a) informed parental participation in decisions affecting their children's education; (b) nondiscriminatory evaluations, including assessments in the student's dominant language; (c) assurances that a student's problems are not the result of factors such as differences of language or culture, socioeconomic status, or lack of opportunity to learn; and (d) consideration of special factors, such as lack of English proficiency, in the development of individualized education programs. The problem is not a lack of safeguards but, rather, faulty interpretations of what these safeguards mean, limited guidance from federal and state governments as to how to implement legal mandates, and practices which do not reflect the research literature on the education of English Language Learners or which are based on faulty assumptions or misconceptions. Educators also encounter tremendous obstacles in trying to comply with legal mandates. It is one thing to require nondiscriminatory evaluations; it is quite another to find trained, bilingual examiners who can conduct assessments in the student's dominant language, with appropriate instruments, and in concert with their non-English-speaking parents.

One of my major concerns is that the safeguards do not seem to extend to bilingual students in general education programs. For example, most assessment personnel believe that testing in the dominant language is a requirement only for students in bilingual education or English as a second language programs. Bilingual students in general education are typically tested only in English because they are considered to be "English proficient" by virtue of the fact that they are not in special language programs. Consequently, these students are not given credit for what they know in the language other than English, creating the possibility that they will be inaccurately identified as having disabilities.

Maldonado-Colon: From my perspective, IDEA includes the indicators necessary to ensure the rights of Latino individuals with and without disabilities. The problem is not at the legislative end but rather at the implementation level, when interpretation is made through culturally biased glasses. The following are points where those rights are to be protected, if the process is to be fair to this child:

- Reporting and justifying present levels of performance.
- Establishing meaningful annual goals and objectives.
- Developing a statement of the educational needs that truly reflects the child's needs.
- Identifying all the necessary and appropriate services and supports.

- Protecting the opportunities to integrate with nondisabled peers, when appropriate, with proficient English speaking peers.
- Monitoring progress and making the necessary adjustments and revisions to ensure it.

These guidelines should be followed. At the same time, professionals should be reminded that based on what we know about the brain's need for meaningfulness, they need to stop the common practice of considering that if a child has a disability it automatically excludes him or her from instruction in a language other than English. Such practice results in cropping the native language in favor of English, quite often the child's weakest language for elaborating information schemas and advancing comprehension. Finally, professionals in the field should also remember that IDEA is very specific about not serving second language learners whose needs are related to limited opportunities for English language and literacy development, not to inherent disabilities.

Byrd: Are there adequately trained personnel engaged in research on and instruction of Latino limited-English-proficient students? What are key elements of their preparation?

Maldonado-Colon: I would like to turn this question around. Are there representative numbers of professionals engaged in teaching and research activities? The answer is No. Reasons vary. Sometimes because of restricted access to the institutions that can prepare them for such endeavors, others because the population we study is so diverse/heterogeneous that researchers prefer to focus on other less controversial groups. Recruitment and retention of Latinos to enter research institutions has suffered in the aftermath of the demise of affirmative action efforts and programs.

Key elements of professional preparation, from my personal and professional perspective, must include comparative studies which address history, sociolinguistics, sociology, and all other courses related to the research and teaching professions. A broad base is crucial to framing and interpreting problems as well as to the elaboration of recommendations. Further, such strong grounding eventually assists both teachers and researchers in understanding and appreciating aspects of diversity that impact on and manifest in data as well as on the interpretations made of them.

Ortiz: We do not have the infrastructure to meet the needs of language minority students with disabilities. There is a shortage of bilingual special education teachers and of bilingual students in personnel preparation programs. There is an even greater shortage of bilingual special education faculty in colleges and universities. In too many instances, the small number of bilingual special education training programs which exist are externally funded and thus faculty are not supported by institutional funds and do not have the privilege of tenure. When external funds are gone, so are the programs. Most research on language minority students is done in universities so the lack of faculty with multicultural expertise makes it difficult to expand the knowledge base associated with the education of language minority students with disabilities.

We need to increase the number of bilingual students pursuing doctoral degrees to increase the number of teacher trainers and researchers. It is not enough, though, to train individuals who are bilingual. Their training must include specific knowledge and skills associated with the education of Latino students with disabilities, native language and English language instruction, cultural influences on learning, and so forth. Bilingualism is a necessary but not sufficient, characteristic of effective bilingual special educators. Given the lack of bilinguals entering the teaching profession, monolingual English-speaking teachers must be trained to more effectively serve second language learners. Requiring that special education teachers who work with English Language Learners have, at the minimum, an ESL certificate or equivalent training would be a step in the right direction. And, we need to provide "retooling" opportunities for monolingual English-speaking university faculty so they are better prepared to routinely address, in the courses they teach, the needs of multicultural special education populations.

Byrd: How successful have educators been in involving Latino parents in the education of their children with disabilities or special gifts?

Maldonado-Colon: Some educators have succeeded but most have not. It is important that readers become familiar with the work of Beth Harry among others to develop an understanding of the unmet challenge and possible approaches to its satisfactory solution. And frankly, quite often it comes to rely on communicating respect and applying understanding. Professionals need to be informed whether through literature, courses, conferences, or numerous varied experiences. The broader the information base, the more options become available to reach, connect, and involve. The Latino community is very giving, but one must find the key to connecting, and this varies across communities.

Ortiz: Involvement of parents in general, and minority parents in particular, is still a major issue in the special education field. I am saddened that so many educators believe that students of color do not succeed because their parents do not value or support education. While there may be some parents who do not care about their children's education, as there are in any group, the greater issue is that schools have not developed effective mechanisms for engaging groups who have a dramatically increased presence in today's schools, including minority parents, families who live in poverty, and parents who don't speak English. There is no doubt that the children who do best in school are those whose parents support their education. If parental involvement is truly important, schools have to provide personnel, time, and resources to establish collaborative partnerships with parents and to eliminate barriers to collaboration with families and minority communities. Because of the shortage of bilingual personnel, it is difficult to engage parents who do not speak English. We create additional obstacles when we use White, middle class standards for defining what constitutes acceptable or appropriate parental involvement. Obstacles such as these prevent us from capitalizing on the rich language, culture, and knowledge available to students in their homes and communities. We could advance these issues by extending the IEP to include the early childhood intervention concept of an "individualized family services plan." By doing so, we could provide support for students with disabilities while at the same time ensuring that parents have the resources they need to support their children's education, if in no other way than by providing their sons and daughters adequate food, shelter, clothing, and medical care.

Byrd: Are there other urgent issues that require attention at this turn of the century? If so, cite and comment on them.

Maldonado-Colon: I believe we must attend to effectiveness. To understand and attain it, we must concentrate on studying the following aspects:

- Conditions under which instruction is effective and its effects sustained.
- Conditions under which parents become collaborators.
- Conditions under which children succeed in spite of bias and subtle forms of discrimination.
- Conditions under which children who cannot work concurrently with two languages because of their specific disability eventually become bilingual.
- Conditions under which languages (L1 and L2) and literacy (in L1 and L2) develop with sustained gains.

Ortiz: Changing predominant values and attitudes toward language minority students which are held by educators and the general public is key to improving the education of language minority students in both general and special education programs. Other issues which require attention include incorporating the needs of language minority students in school reform and accountability efforts, up-front, not as an afterthought or as an add-on; training general and special education administrators so they can provide effective programs in their schools for language minority students; building linkages and collaborative relationships among bilingual education, English as a second language, general education, special education, and other programs which serve Latino students; and capitalizing upon, and building, resources available to students in their homes and communities. Another issue is ensuring that there are others behind us who will continue the struggle to enhance education for students of color, including those with disabilities. Their welfare, and that of the country, depends on it.

THE EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL LEARNERS: PERSPECTIVES OF MULTICULTURAL COLLEGE SENIORS

CRYSTAL B. TAYLOR

with

FRANK WILLIAMS
KEVIN HINDS
DORIEN TENANT
CATHERINE MERCED

It is well known that laws such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA, P.L.101-476) and Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA, P.L. 101-336) were established to ensure equity in educating students with special needs (Henley, Ramsey, & Algozzine, 1999). But, because schools are a reflection of their communities, prejudices of some teachers, administrators, and parents toward students from culturally and/or linguistically diverse backgrounds still exist, leading to (a) misappropriate identification of students with behavior disorders and learning disabilities, (b) parental distrusts, and (c) other problems (CEC Today, 1998). Recognizing these biases as roadblocks, a group of culturally diverse college seniors from Bethune Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida, recently collaborated to discuss the following question, "What are your personal perspectives on your roles in effecting systematic change for equity in service delivery to exceptional individuals, as well as in empowering culturally/linguistically diverse professionals?" This brief article highlights these students' responses to this intriguing question. These responses are presented in the following sections.

Incorporating Cultural Diversity in Lesson Content

The first author, a member of Project PACE (Preparing All Cultures Educationally, at Bethune Cookman College), revealed that her immediate plans are to incorporate the ethnicity of each student, as well as her ethnicity, in as many subject areas as possible. According to her, "My goal is to enhance the self-worth of culturally/linguistically diverse students, and motivate them to learn, by incorporating their cultural differences in all subject areas routinely. I am hopeful that this example will encourage other culturally/linguistically diverse professionals to teach with the same freedom, as we all learn to respect and celebrate each other's likenesses and differences." To ensure equity of special education students and services on a larger scale, her future plans also include completing graduate school. As she indicated, "While teaching in the classroom is invaluable, there is a tremendous need for representation of all cultures, to make decisions that affect all cultures.

Teaching Students How to Conquer Their Disability—Personal History

Acknowledging one's disability is important, but helping students conquer their disabilities and uplifting themselves was how Frank Williams, member of Project MODEL (Males of Diversity Exhibiting Leadership—Bethune Cookman College), viewed his role in effecting systematic change. He noted: "Too often educators label students and dismiss them as unsuccessful. I know the feeling of frustration because I have a learning disability. First hand, I have been labeled and basically told I would not amount to much. As an educator, I will be empathetic and caring, yet teach with a 'yes, you can' attitude. I want to provide students with disabilities, who are culturally and/or linguistically diverse, the tools needed to successfully function among their nondisabled peers."

Attitudes Often Determine Outcomes, Not Assessments

Kevin Hinds and Dorien Tenant, also members of Project MODEL, shared their perspective roles in effecting systematic change. While Hinds was recommended for special education services in elementary school, Tenant actually spent his seventh-grade year in a special education classroom, which resulted in his decision to become a special education administrator. "Initial assessments, which I took haphazardly, revealed I was working at a second-grade level," recounted Tenant. "And the next year, I found myself in a special education classroom. What an eye-opener. Subsequent testing, I took more seriously, and scores revealed I performed at an 11th-grade level. I was one of the disproportionate African-American males receiving special education services, and I left many of my friends in special education because they did not want to leave. We need programs in place to make them want to leave. For me, remaining was not an option. I knew what I had to do to achieve success," he noted. Kevin's aim was to make educators aware that education, for many children who are linguistically/culturally disabled because of their environments, might seem secondary. As he pointed out, "If you are a child in an impoverished situation, you are less concerned about your education. A lot of poor minority children face serious problems at home such as having adequate food, and wondering if they will have a quiet home life. They do not feel the need to concentrate on academics, and I want to change that."

Students, Parents, and Teachers as Equal Partners

Providing parental support and reassurance that ours (parents, child, and teacher) is a team effort, was how Catherine Merced imagined her role. In her words, "I want to establish support teams so that parents of new students, who are referred for special education services, can interact with existing parents to dispel negative ideas and stereotypes. When parents are comfortable about placements, they can center their efforts on helping their child succeed. I want parents to know I am there for them."

Summary

The statements made by the potential educators in this article sum up the feelings of most culturally and linguistically diverse educators and professionals. We must begin to think about innovative ways to respond to current demographic changes. If the views of these future teachers are shared by educators, our hunch is that students with special needs would experience positive self-worth in greater degrees, learn to maximize their strengths and overcome continuous negative remarks about their limitations, recognize themselves as partners in their educational process, and finally, view special services as a means to improve their lives forever.

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KEVIN HINDS (a May 2000 graduate) and **DORIAN TENANT** (a senior) are African Americans and also members of Project MODEL. While Dorien concludes his course of study at BCC, Kevin will join Frank at Hampton University in graduate school.

CATHERINE MERCED is a Puerto Rican American, a member of Project PACE, and May 2000 graduate. She plans to teach either in Volusia or Dade County, Florida.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES: IMPLICATIONS FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Juvenile delinquency is a pervasive and costly problem. As a society, we are losing too many youth to substance abuse, gang involvement, and criminal activity. The toll delinquency places on families, educational systems, and social welfare systems costs monetarily and socially. In this article, I review the research literature on juvenile delinquency among African-American males to determine (a) the quantity of research on this topic, (b) the quality of research, and (c) topics that have been investigated in this area. In particular, I sought to determine the degree to which researchers have focused on delinquency within the context of race and disability. In addition, I provide implications for future research with a focus on delinquency and disability.

Juvenile delinquency is a pervasive and costly problem. As a society, we are losing too many of our youth to truancy, substance abuse, gang involvement, and criminal activity. The toll delinquency has placed on families, educational systems, and social welfare systems (e.g., juvenile justice and social services) has cost the U.S. monetarily as well as socially. Zigler, Taussig, and Black (1992) stated that

> Delinquency behavior also produces many costs that are difficult to quantify, such as the creation of a poor learning environment for classmates, reduced quality of life for victims and those living in high-crime areas, reduced earning potential for the incarcerated juvenile, the danger that siblings will model delinquent behavior, and emotional stress on the family members of both victims and perpetrators. (p. 997)

Myriad factors contribute to delinquency. It is generally impossible to infer causality to specific factors. However, there is often a strong correlation between the many factors that contribute to the development of delinquency. These include substance use (Jackson, 1992), poor parental supervision and low family income (Farrington, 1987), negative attitudes toward school (Joseph, 1996), school dropout (Bass & Coleman, 1997), disability status (Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Van Kammen, 1998; Waldie & Spreen, 1993), and race/ethnicity (Harvey & Coleman, 1996).

Some of the literature points to family structure as a factor contributing to juvenile delinquency. For example, Zigler et al. (1992) indicated that large family size; "disorganized," "unstable" families; and poor housing conditions contribute to delinquency. However, Zimmerman, Salem, and Maton (1995) contended that most of the research that has been conducted on family constellations has focused on White participants. Moreover, research has been conducted on the effects of single-parent, primarily female-headed, households. However, they stated that extended families, which are commonly found in the African-American community, are not usually considered in studies that address the impact of familial characteristics on delinquency.

Characteristics of students with disabilities can also contribute to delinquent behaviors. Inattentive; defiant; overly sensitive; aggression toward

property, rules, and others; and destructive behaviors are among the attributes used to describe students identified as having emotional disturbance or behavioral disorders (E/BD; Coleman, 1996). Lack of impulse control, inability to anticipate consequences of one's actions, and a tendency to act out are identified as characteristics of students with learning disabilities (Waldie & Spreen, 1993). Waldie and Spreen also indicated that as some students with learning disabilities experience academic failure, they may develop a negative self-image, which could lead to delinquent behavior. However, Malmgren, Abbott, and Hawkins (1999) cautioned that there may not be a direct relationship between learning disabilities and delinquency. Instead, they contended that the correlation between disability status and ethnicity, age, or socioeconomic status may lead to delinquency.

Harvey and Coleman (1996) recognized "an increase in juvenile offenses among African-American adolescent males" (p. 198). Earlier, Hawkins (1983) stated that bias in the juvenile justice system, historical conditions, and economic factors contribute to African-American youth being overrepresented in the criminal justice system. This belief was verified by Pratt (1993), who reported that African Americans are treated inequitably in the juvenile justice system because of their ethnicity. Furthermore, Snyder (1996) stated that African-American youth are overrepresented at each stage of the juvenile court process relative to their representation in the general population. Moreover, a study funded by the U.S. Department of Education indicated that 19% of adolescents with disabilities were arrested after being out of school 2 years (Wagner et al., 1991). Of students in special education, 37% of students with emotional disturbance and 20% of students with learning disabilities were arrested. In addition, students with emotional disturbance are more likely to be African American and male, and males were arrested more frequently than females (U.S. Department of Education, 1993).

The prevalence of juvenile delinquency among African-American males is an issue that must be addressed empirically and comprehensively. Hence, in this article I review the research literature on juvenile delinquency among African-American males to determine (a) the quantity of research on this topic, (b) the quality of research (strengths and weaknesses), and (c) topics that have been investigated in this area. In particular, I sought to determine the degree to which researchers have focused on delinquency within the context of race and disability. In addition, I provide implications for future research with a focus on delinquency and disability.

METHOD

SELECTION OF EMPIRICAL ARTICLES

Studies published over a 20-year period were reviewed (i.e., 1978–1998). This time period was selected because I wanted to observe the trends in juvenile delinquency among African-American males. Artiles, Trent, and Kuan (1997) indicated that they expected to find "a renewed interest" in multicultural issues during a particular time period covered in their literature review on learning disabilities and ethnic minority students, "due in part to the resurgence of the multicultural educational movement" (p. 83). Similarly, I anticipated that the number of studies related to juvenile delinquency among African-American males would increase over this 20-year time span, due to a greater emphasis on multicultural issues across fields (e.g., psychology, sociology, and education). I also anticipated that the psychology, sociology, and criminology journals would carry the bulk of the research on this topic.

Articles were selected and included in this review based upon the following criteria:

1. Journal articles were data-based with quantitative or qualitative designs. Thus, literature reviews, essays, editorials, and other reviews that provided theoretical frameworks on juvenile delinquency among African-American males were excluded.
2. The study sample was comprised of African-American males. I selected this subject pool because of the increase in juvenile offenses among this group (Harvey & Coleman, 1996). I did not include studies that compared African-American males and males from

other ethnic groups. Padilla (1994) asserted that there are enough differences within ethnic groups to make comparisons, rather than comparing across ethnic groups.

3. If the study included general information about African-American adolescents, I made sure there was a breakdown of data by gender. I did this because I was interested in obtaining information on African-American males, and some of the research focused on African-American males and females.
4. I also searched for studies that included students with disabilities in their sample, but included studies that matched the aforementioned criteria.
5. The studies were published between 1978 and 1998, to capture a 20-year timeframe.

Search Results

I reviewed search results from six databases: ERIC, PsycINFO, Sociofile, Wilson Humanities Abstracts, Wilson Social Science Abstracts, and Wilson Education Abstracts. The descriptors used were "delinquency," "African American," "Black or black," and "youth or adolescence." I reviewed search results one by one to ensure the descriptors I chose were included in the abstract (or description); and to determine whether the entry was a study or a theoretical paper. I also linked the term "disability or disabilities" with "delinquency," and "disability or disabilities" with "delinquency" and "African American."

I viewed the combination of "delinquency," "African American," and "youth or adolescence" and found 83 records. I combined those records with a computer code to locate journal articles, "dtn = 143," and ended up with seven studies that fit my established criteria. Next, I searched the terms "delinquency," "Black or black," and "youth or adolescence" and found 283 records. I combined those records with "dtn = 143" and came up with two studies already cited in the search using the descriptor "African American." I also combined the 283 records with a computer code that identifies research entries, "dtn = 080." Finally, no studies surfaced when I combined "disabilities," "delinquency" and "African American." From this extensive research, I identified nine studies.

Results

Several empirical studies were identified during the time period covered in this review. The majority compared African Americans and Whites, or African Americans, Whites, and Hispanics. However, when I applied the aforementioned criteria to the search results, only nine studies remained. The fact that a 20-year literature review only produced nine studies on juvenile delinquency among African-American males is alarming. This is particularly true in light of the reported increase in juvenile offenses among this population (Harvey & Coleman, 1996). No empirical studies were found during the late 1970s/early 1980s. The first study identified in this search was in 1990. Perhaps a reoccurrence of a focus on multiculturalism in the late 1980s influenced the increased interest in this topic. Articles included in this review were located in journals from several disciplines. Journals included: *Child Development, Adolescence, Professional School Counseling, The Urban Review, Journal of Black Studies, Journal of Community Psychology, Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, Youth and Society, American Journal of Public Health,* and *Journal of Early Adolescence.*

Topics Investigated

Common themes among these studies were drug and alcohol use, violent behavior, criminal behavior, school factors relating to delinquency, and family characteristics. Although the themes are interrelated, the most common were drug involvement and school factors.

Drug and alcohol involvement. Zimmerman and Maton (1992) considered what they referred to as "life-style patterns" when assessing substance use among African-American males. They contended that participants' home and school environments, and how they choose to spend their free time affect their use of alcohol and drugs. However,

there was no focus on home environments. They categorized students by five life-style patterns, namely: (a) delinquent youth, (b) church attenders, (c) uninvolved youth, (d) school attenders, and (e) employed youth. Results indicated that delinquent youth were dropouts, unemployed, did not attend church, and had been in trouble with the police. Church attenders were dropouts as well, unemployed, and were not delinquent. Uninvolved youth were dropouts, unemployed, did not attend church, and had not been in trouble with the police. School attenders did not work, attended church, and did not get in trouble with the police. Employed youth included students and dropouts, they did not attend church regularly, and were not delinquent. Results also indicated that dropout is not a predictor of alcohol and drug use. Participants in the delinquent and employed groups were more likely to use hard drugs, alcohol, and marijuana than the other groups. They were also more likely to engage in substance use if their friends did.

Jackson (1992) surveyed African-American adolescent males (mean age = 16 years) living in correctional facilities. Participants indicated their "top three" drug preferences were marijuana, phencyclidine (PCP), and cocaine. They reported drug use beginning at a mean age of 12.5 years; almost 90% reported they consumed alcohol before age 15. Friends and relatives engaged in substance use with participants more often than used by themselves. Participants engaged in substance use with friends or relatives more often than they engaged in substance use alone. Results indicated that most participants used drugs and alcohol "to feel good," to feel grown-up, and because their friends used them.

Li, Stanton, Black, and Feigelman (1996) measured drug trafficking intentions and patterns among African-American adolescents using a test-retest format. Results indicated that males are more likely than females to have the intention to, and to have actually sold and delivered drugs. As Li et al. pointed out, "Although drug trafficking had a relatively low prevalence rate in this sample of African-American adolescents from low-income families, 63% of youth who were involved at baseline were still involved 6 months later" (p. 483).

Violent behavior. DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, and Linder (1994) studied the relationship between social and psychological factors (e.g., family conflict, depression) and violent behavior among African-American adolescents. Results from their study indicated that adolescents' use of violence is learned in peer groups, families, and gangs. Participants' use of violence was "significantly correlated with three indicators of previous exposure to violence: self-reported exposure to violence and victimization in the community, degree of family conflict, and severity of corporal punishment and discipline" (p. 615). As DuRant et al. discovered, demographic variables such as family structure, SES, and religious behavior were not significantly correlated with participants' use of violence.

School related factors. Joseph (1996) surveyed African-American youths' attitudes toward and experiences in school, and delinquent behavior. Results indicated that males at the junior high school level reported more positive attitudes toward school than females. However, the opposite was true at the high school level. Joseph indicated that as males moved on to high school, relevance of the curriculum gained importance. However, these males viewed the curriculum as having less relevance in the higher grades. Joseph concluded that school curricula should be revised to "reflect the multiracial and multiethnic nature of society" (p. 351).

Bass & Coleman (1997) expressed concern about the high incidence of school dropout among African-American youth. They noted that when "ethnic minority students struggle with their sense of self, they may experience a lack of self esteem and motivation" (p. 49). As a result, they developed a program for academic and behavioral improvement for six African-American males in a predominantly White school. Participants completed a 20-week program, which was comprised of two parts. The first 10 weeks included a 45-minute session at the end of each school day during which students were taught the principles of Kwanzaa. Students also learned about themes and symbols that exposed them to a world view that combined education, community, and nature within an Afrocentric context. Students' grade point

averages and academic goals were recorded at the end of this session. During the second 10 weeks, participants incorporated the principles of Kwanzaa while working on their academic goals. Results of the study, as indicated by teachers' ratings, indicated a decrease in discipline referrals; an increase in being prepared for class, following directions, putting forth effort on class assignments, and being respectful toward others.

Family characteristics. Zimmerman et al. (1995) measured social support, psychological well-being, and substance use and delinquency among urban African-American adolescent males from five family constellations. The constellations included youth who lived with: (a) a single mother, (b) one biological parent and a stepparent, (c) their mother and extended family members (e.g., grandparents), (d) both biological parents, or (e) extended family members. Results indicated that participants who lived in homes where their mothers were single parents did not differ from their counterparts living in other family constellations with regard to alcohol and substance use, delinquency, the incidence of school dropout, and psychological distress. They also found that youth living in "single-mother households" reported more parental support than participants from those living in homes with only extended family members, or both biological parents. Emotional support from fathers, whether or not they lived in the same household, was correlated with higher self-esteem and measures of life satisfaction, and lower levels of depression.

Quality of Research

Participant characteristics. Zimmerman et al. (1995) selected participants through mailing lists obtained from local schools' dropout lists, and made follow-up phone calls to students to solicit their participation. Thirty-six percent of their participants were obtained in this manner. Thirty-five percent were enlisted via posters and flyers. The remaining 29% were obtained through neighborhood peer recruitment (12%) and referrals from community organizations (17%). Joseph (1996) drew a nonrandom sample from three local public schools. The sample included youth who were currently enrolled in school, but who had a history of criminal activity. DuRant et al. (1994) received referrals from community workers for recruiters to help with their study. Eight recruiters, young people with similar demographic characteristics as the participants, were selected and paid for each questionnaire that was completed from the participants they recruited.

Padilla and Lindholm (1995) state that generalization and replication of research findings is dependent upon "understanding the characteristics of the population" (p. 100). One hundred percent of the studies provided demographic information about their participants, although some provided more detailed information than others. Zimmerman and Maton (1992) identified the percentage of students who left school in the 9th and 10th grades, and the length of time they had been out of school at the time of the study. They provided information regarding participants' involvement with drugs. Joseph (1996) reported how many participants lived in apartments, single family homes, town houses, rooming houses, or motels and how many lived with their mother only, father only, mother and father, other relatives, or another adult who was not a relative. Zimmerman et al. (1995) identified similar family constellations in their study. DuRant et al. (1994) reported participants' self-reports about their exposure to and victimization by violence.

All but one study (Bass & Coleman, 1997) identified participants' SES. Several studies reported parents' educational and employment statuses as a measure of SES. For example, Gray-Ray and Ray (1990) scored the educational level of heads of households from 1 to 7, indicating the range from graduate education to "welfare subsistence." Zimmerman and Maton (1992) reported participants' self-reports of their parents' educational and job statuses. Fathers were reported as having completed an average of approximately 12 years in school; mothers' averages were about the same. Participants' responses indicated that more mothers were employed than fathers. However, data were not collected for some of the mothers, and almost half did not answer the question about their fathers' employment status. Joseph (1995, 1996) reported that the majority of her partici-

pants' parents held jobs that required few to no skills. Less than 25% held white collar or professional jobs. Jackson (1992) indicated that almost 50% of the participants in her study "reported that social security benefits were the primary source of family income" (p. 67). Li et al. (1996) reported that their participants were drawn from a "low-income urban setting" (p. 471). The majority of the studies ($N = 8$) reported participants were from families with low SES.

Data collection. Bass and Coleman (1997) designed a program to help students with their academic and behavioral performance. Data collected from the participants' school included disciplinary records and grade point averages. Data collection procedures for the remaining eight studies consisted of the use of questionnaires ($n = 5$; some included the use of Likert scales), surveys ($n = 2$), and interviews ($n = 1$). Questionnaires were used to obtain demographic information (e.g., parents' educational level and employment status), and measure variables. Variables included substance use (Li et al., 1996), self-reported delinquent behaviors (Joseph, 1995), family structure (Gray-Ray & Ray, 1990) and exposure to violence (DuRant et al., 1994). Surveys were used to collect information on attitudes toward school, grade point average (Joseph, 1996), and drug preferences and reason for involvement (Jackson, 1992). Interviews were used to establish rapport with participants and obtain information regarding substance use (Zimmerman & Maton, 1992).

Thirty-three percent of the studies ($n = 3$) reported the use of culturally appropriate instruments, 44% ($n = 4$) did not report whether or not instruments were culturally appropriate, and 22% ($n = 2$) indicated that one of the instruments used was appropriate for this population. Bass and Coleman (1997) used the *Classroom Behavior Scale* to measure participants' progress. Teachers employed the use of the scale to measure variables such as (a) how well participants' followed directions, (b) how respectful they were of others, and (c) how prepared they were for class. DuRant et al. (1994) combined several standardized instruments that "were chosen because they have been used extensively among minority youths" (p. 613). They reported using a total of eight questionnaires and surveys from which to obtain items for their questionnaire. The tests used measured participants' exposure to violence, disciplinary activity used in the home, symptoms of depression, negative expectations about the future, and perceived meaning in life. Among the measures used in the study by Zimmerman et al. (1995) were family structure, psychological well-being, substance use and delinquency, social support, and relationship with father. The Brief Symptom Inventory (see Table 1) was used to measure psychological well-being, which the authors state is "associated with alcohol and marijuana use among male African American adolescents" (p. 1603).

Although 33% of the studies ($n = 3$) used random samples, 56% ($n = 5$) did not, and 11% ($n = 1$) did not indicate whether random sampling was used. Random selection is important because it allows the results of a study to be generalizable to the population. The majority of these studies, therefore, cannot be generalized to the population of African-American males who are juvenile delinquents.

Data analysis. Studies that employed the use of instruments that consistently measure what they purport to measure over time may be more likely to be replicated. Thirty-three percent of the studies ($n = 3$) reported the reliability of the instruments used; 33% ($n = 3$) reported validity. DuRant et al. (1994), Zimmerman and Maton (1992), and Zimmerman et al. (1995) reported the reliability and validity of each of the inventories used in their studies. The remainder of the studies accounted for neither. Bass and Coleman (1997) used a single case replicated design, and used a paired *t*-test to measure participants' progress. Although they did not have a way to consistently measure the data qualitatively, they documented comments made by participants about the program.

Zimmerman and Maton (1992) described a potential threat to validity. They indicated that the truthfulness of participants' responses was questionable because of the sensitive nature of the information being asked of them. Although they obtained subpoena protection, sharing informa-

TABLE 1

TABLE OF INSTRUMENTS

Author	*Instrument*	*Purpose of Instrument*
Bass and Coleman (1997)	Classroom Behavior Scale	Used to measure whether students were on time and prepared for class, and respectful toward others
DuRant et al. (1994)	Denver Youth Study Self-Reported Delinquency Questionnaire & Prevention's Youth Risk Behavior Survey	Used to measure use of violence
	Survey of Exposure to Community Violence	Used to measure exposure to violence
	Conflict Tactics Scale	Used to measure conflict and violence in the home
	Home Environment Interview	Used to measure discipline in the home
	The Children's Depression Inventory	Used to measure depression symptoms
	Hopelessness Scale for Children	Used to measure negative expectations about the future
	Purpose of Life Test	Used to measure participants' view of the meaning of their lives
	Jackson's Personality Research Form	Used to measure social desirability and response bias
Gray-Ray and Ray (1990)	Two Factor Index of Social Position	Used to determine social class status
Zimmerman and Maton (1992)	Youth Needs Assessment	Used to obtain information about participant attitudes and needs
Li et al. (1996)	Youth Health Risk Behavioral Inventory	Used to collect demographic information; knowledge of and experience with substance use
Zimmerman et al. (1995)	The Brief Symptom Inventory	Used to measure psychological well-being

tion about unlawful behavior was touchy for many of their participants. Validity was strengthened by interviewers' rating of each interview. Participants were rated on how consistently they responded, how well they understood the question, and the "flow or ease of the interview" (p. 125). In addition, Zimmerman and Maton used the social desirability scale from *Jackson's Personality Research Form* to measure response bias.

In the studies identified above, t-tests, multiple analyses of variance (MANOVAs), multiple analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs), and correlation and regression coefficients were used to analyze the data. Jackson (1992) did not indicate what data analysis procedures were used. Bass and Coleman (1997) used a single-case replication design.

Discussion

A review of literature on juvenile delinquency among African-American males reveals that more research on this topic must be conducted. Despite the increase in juvenile offenses among African-American males in recent years (Harvey and Coleman, 1996), and their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system (Hawkins, 1983) and special education (Artiles & Trent, 1994), very little research focuses solely on African-American males. Rather, the majority of the research on African-American males and delinquency compares African-American males with males from other ethnic groups (e.g., White and Hispanic). In this literature review, only nine articles on juvenile delinquency and African-American youth (five of which specifically targeted African-American males) were found from 1978 to 1998. Furthermore, none of the studies examined juvenile delinquency among African-American males with disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities [LD] and emotional/behavioral disorders [E/BD]).

One implication for future research is to encourage minority and nonminority scholars to conduct more research on minority groups that study within group comparisons. Padilla (1994) stated that "somehow we have allowed ourselves to be misled into the belief that if we are interested in ethnic scholarship and research, the most acceptable research approach is that of a cross-group (cultural) comparative group" (p. 25). He also pointed out that it is not scientifically sound to compare members of different ethnic groups. Likewise, Stockman (1995) studied language development among African-American children. She concluded that within group differences were critical, as comparative studies were "especially limiting" (p. 26). From this standpoint, it is important to consider a sociocultural perspective when conducting research on this topic (see Table 2). When conducting research, Bos and Fletcher (1997) indicated that family and community cultures are interrelated with a host of other variables that affect youth. Although their article focused on culturally diverse students with learning disabilities in inclusive settings, the principles can be applied to juvenile delinquency and other disabling categories within special education. Bos and Fletcher defined sociocultural perspective as a method of conducting research that considers participants' familial, community, educational, and cultural variables. For example, it is insufficient to study measures of participants' educational outcomes without considering what home factors may be influencing those outcomes. Similarly, when observing teacher-student or peer interactions, it is important to consider cultural nuances regarding interpersonal relationships. Less than half of the studies reviewed in this article considered such cultural variables.

In future research, we must ask ourselves questions such as: Do incompatible communicative styles between home and school contribute to student behaviors that might lead to juvenile delinquency or a special education label among African-American males? Are individual differences of African-American males interpreted as deficits rather than culturally influenced behaviors by teachers (Artiles, 1998, Obiakor & Utley, 1997)? Are special education referrals and identification as a juvenile delinquent influenced by the quality of the instructional context (Kea & Utley, 1998)? Do the same factors that place African-American males at risk for overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system also place them at risk for overrepresentation in some special education categories? Can schools, through prevention pro-

TABLE 2

SOCIOCULTURAL FRAMEWORK AND VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES

Student	*Family/Community*	*School*	*Researcher*
Gender	Family culture	Relevance of curriculum	Race/ethnicity
Age	Community culture	Students' characteristics	Attitude toward and beliefs about people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds
Race/ethnicity	Head of household	Teacher characteristics:	
Geographic region	Family structure	– Educational philosophy and beliefs	Familiarity with participant, family, and school variables
Grade level	Parents' educational level	– Teaching preparation and experience	Theoretical framework
Academic achievement		Culturally relevant pedagogy:	Purpose for conducting research/research question
Peer influence		– Class as a community of learners	
Attitude toward school		– Knowing students as individuals	
		– Integration of family and community cultures	
		– Use of students' background knowledge	

Adapted from Bos and Fletcher (1997)

grams, reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency among African-American males, and will this reduction result in fewer special education referrals? These questions will continue to be critical.

Padilla and Lindholm (1995) pointed out that instruments used in research with minority populations need to be examined to ensure that they produce "appropriate outcome measures" (p. 104). They stated that many instruments are appropriate for White middle-class participants, particularly males, but are not tailored to assess the same measures among culturally diverse populations. They questioned, "Do minority participants respond to questionnaires and other data-collecting instruments in the same manner as majority group members?" (p. 104). As can be seen from the results of this literature review, the cultural sensitivity of data collection tools is an area that warrants much attention as researchers continue to study juvenile delinquency among African-American males.

With regard to the quality of the studies included in this review, a strength is that the "pools" from which participants were drawn were very diverse. Researchers gathered participants from schools, community settings, and correctional facilities. A weakness is that few of the studies report the reliability and validity of instruments used. Furthermore, less than half of the studies appeared to use random samples. Future research should include using randomized sam-

ples to ensure results that are generalizable. Another implication is the need for researchers to indicate how participants were selected. This will enable future researchers to replicate and compare studies.

Articles in this review were derived primarily from sociology, counseling, and health journals. Since school factors (e.g., grades and attendance) surfaced in 20% of the studies, it would be beneficial to educators for more of these studies to be published in education or special education journals. An implication for future research is to study juvenile delinquency and disability from an interdisciplinary perspective. Because the problems of this population are so complex, it is crucial that researchers across an array of disciplines work collaboratively to develop comprehensive solutions.

Finally, it is important to consider the race, culture, and theoretical beliefs of the researcher when studying juvenile delinquency among African-American students with disabilities (see Table 2). Only a few of the articles identified the race of the researchers or the theoretical frameworks that guided the studies. However, Zimmerman and Maton (1992) and Zimmerman et al. (1995) indicated that the trained interviewers used in their study were African American and White. Zimmerman and Maton concluded that interviewers' race was not a "significant" factor in explaining the study's outcomes.

Padilla (1994) discussed this dilemma from a sociocultural/sociopolitical perspective. He stated that ethnic researchers are often discouraged from conducting research on minority issues. He indicated that many choose not to publish scholarly work on minority issues for fear of being labeled an "ethnic researcher." He also stated that ethnic researchers and nonethnic faculty who are interested in minority issues are rare. Hence, minority graduate students often encounter difficulty finding someone to mentor them in their pursuit of "ethnic-related" research interests. They are often left to venture out on their own in, or shy away from, conducting this important aspect of research. However, it is imperative that research on this topic be generated and supported among more faculty members and their graduate students. Hopefully, increased interest will result in dissemination of multiple perspectives and varied theoretical frameworks (e.g., positivist and constructivist). In this vein, Artiles et al. (1997) recommended "rigorous recruitment, training, support, and retention of scholars" (p. 90) who are interested in researching issues regarding minority students with disabilities. As more empirically based research is conducted on African-American males' juvenile delinquency and disabilities, the likelihood that such research will be replicated and extended will increase. That, in turn, will hopefully lead to a change in the current trends in juvenile delinquency and special education (e.g., overrepresentation) among African-American males.

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